BOOK PUBLISHING TRENDS IN THE AMERICAN LUTHERAN CHURCH AND ITS ANTECEDENT BODIES, 1917-1967

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PREFACE

While engaged in a study of the Augsburg Publishing House, this writer realized the need for an evaluative study of its book production. In his History of Augsburg Publishing House (M. A. Thesis, University of Minnesota, 1960), the writer traced the history and development of the publishing concern from its beginning to 1960. This work also covered monographic publications, however, without evaluating trends and without categorizing and generalizing so as to appraise in total what was accomplished. A considerable portion of the study was devoted to church periodicals--the perpetual problem and continuous financial liability of church associated publishers.

An evaluative study was also suggested on several occasions as very desirable by the General Manager of Augsburg Publishing House, Dr. Randolph E. Haugan, for purposes of interpreting past performance and for charting future publishing programs for the church.

The American Lutheran Church[1] merger in 1960 united the American Lutheran Church, the Evangelical Lutheran Church, and the United Evangelical Lutheran Church and, in 1963, the Lutheran Free Church. The publishing houses of these respective churches merged to form one publishing house of considerable size. It was a composite of at least four well developed publishing traditions, now serving a new clientele of about two and a half million Lutherans. The new situation, however, placed before the management with new intensity the old need for evaluation of publishing activities. If there was variety in the publishing represented in the merging churches and if there were differences in the published material, then it would be very profitable to compare and analyze the merging publishing traditions and offer to the merged publishing house certain options as to policy and practice. Such a comparison, assuming that there are definite differences and options, could then assist the Augsburg Publishing House in future planning.

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[1] The American Lutheran Church. This denomination formed in 1960 has consistently capitalized the definite article of its name in order to provide itself with a distinct name and to prevent a possible confusion with the American Lutheran Church (formed in 1930). The American Lutheran Church (ALC) merged in The American Lutheran Church (TALC) in 1960. The name of this merged church will consistently have a capitalized definite article.

Thus, it seemed justified to expand the idea of an evaluative study of the book publishing trends to all of the component publishing houses which merged with the Augsburg Publishing House. The question was still open as to the scope of such a study. Should it include, in addition to periodicals and pamphlets, curriculum materials and music? Should it cover trends of publishing in each component publishing house from its beginning? Should it include technical aspects of book production and craftsmanship?

In 1967, an opportunity presented itself to analyze this idea in a concrete project. The study of book publishing trends in The American Lutheran Church and its antecedent denominations was accepted as a dissertation topic at the University of Michigan, School of Library Science.

Discussions with Dr. Russell E. Bidlack, Chairman of the writer's Doctoral Committee, and with other faculty members of the School of Library Science further defined the project. It was decided to limit the study to monographic publications, omitting periodicals and pamphlet materials. As a cut off point from which to begin the study, the year 1917 was chosen--the year of the merger of the Norwegian Lutheran Church and also the year of the 400th Anniversary of the Lutheran Reformation.

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This period was also marked by Lutheran interdenominational cooperative ventures and the creation of interdenominational bodies. The year 1917 was also important for the entry of the United States into World War I, challenging the Lutheran church to social action and service to the armed forces. The discussions with Dr. Bidlack further defined the scope of the study as including a discussion of book publishing activities in all of the component denominations forming the American Lutheran Church.

The scope of this study was thus set to cover the publishing in the Buffalo, Iowa, and Ohio Synods until their merger in the American Lutheran Church in 1930, the publishing in the American Lutheran Church until its merger with The American Lutheran Church in 1960, the publication activities of the Evangelical Lutheran Church and the United Evangelical Lutheran Church until their merger in The American Lutheran Church in 1960, the publishing activities in the Lutheran Free Church until its merger in The American Lutheran Church in 1963, and of course, publishing trends in the newly merged The American Lutheran Church 1960-1967. (See chart appended.)

Because the history of the Lutheran church has been enormously complex and because the doctrinal and other distinguishing factors are equally complicated, it seemed essential to include a chapter on relevant aspects of Lutheran history as a framework for this study. It was also deemed important that as a necessary by-product of the study, a checklist of books published in the denominations forming The American Lutheran Church be appended to the dissertation.

It seemed impossible to encompass within this study the technical aspects of bookmaking and to evaluate the craftsmanship of the respective publishers in detail. Likewise, the scope of the study did not permit a minute analysis of the business and economic aspects of publishing. Both of these aspects of publishing in the American Lutheran church tradition provide interesting and rewarding research material for some future researchers. In terms of institutional enterprise, the material provides very interesting case histories as several debt ridden publishing houses became profitable, successful, and efficient business enterprises. In the area of craftsmanship, one can trace the evolution from amateurish, halting efforts to a quality of printing which compares favorably with the best in contemporary typography and book design.

As the study and research progressed, two considerable difficulties arose due to the idiosyncrasies of the ecclesiastical fiscal and business practices in the Lutheran bodies. One of these was the publishers' continuous neglect or perennial laxity of giving bibliographic description and detail in and outside the source, i.e., the monograph. The content and distribution oriented publishers, especially in the early period, had little concern about copyrighting their publications, about the date of the first edition, about identifying the foreign language title in case of a translation, or about giving an exact date of a publication. Especially confusing was the widespread practice, in the 1920's, to feature the date of a reprint as an implied date of publication without mentioning preceding editions or reprintings. Even less reliable were the sales catalog listings. This caused, in the progress of the study, many set-backs, as titles deemed to be published at a certain time proved to be titles reprinted from old original editions. Although the study of monographs published by The American Lutheran Church and its antecedent bodies excludes by definition pamphlets, serials, annuals, curriculum materials, and all publications with less than fifty pages, the total compilation of the monographs from various sources reached approximately 3000 titles. The examination of the books or further information eventually disqualified about half of this number. The actual final total of the monographs under study is 1475 books. References in the text to this multitude would have provided cumbersome amounts of footnotes and would have duplicated the information in the Checklist of Monographs. It was deemed proper to use a short cut by providing direct access to the Checklist whenever a Lutheran publication was introduced in the study. Thus, the B references in the text (for example: B 167) are references to the Checklist of Monographs. The Checklist is in numerical and alphabetical arrangement. The numbers were assigned early and were used to compile and organize information. In the process of sorting and verifying titles, many entries were dropped and some added. Hence, there are gaps in the numerical order and some additions made by means of the alphabet (viz. B 167c). The entries of the Checklist were verified and located in twelve Lutheran libraries in the West and Midwest. The code numbers for each entry indicate the location and the title in one or in several of the libraries.

The other difficulty was related to the ecclesiastical fiscal year. In all of the churches surveyed, the fiscal year began and ended in the summertime, i.e., when the annual or biennial conferences of the church bodies convened. Usually the fiscal year began June 1st and ended May 31, and in this fiscal span all finances and activities, including publications, were reported. When an undated (in-source) publication was reported as being published during a given ecclesiastical year, it was still impossible to date the publication with certainty. A conjecture could be made that the publication, if it could be identified as being produced for the Easter season, was published in the year of the given report, but, if it was published for the Christmas season, it must have been published during the previous calendar year. In the absence of factual data, these undated publications were listed with a "no date of publication" (n.d.) mark, although it was possible to report them with certainty in a two-year span or in a given decade. The idiosyncrasies of ecclesiastical fiscal reporting forced the writer to adjust the span of time of reporting ecclesiastical decades. In order to synchronize the decenniums in the study with the common span of the decade, it was deemed wise to up-shift the ecclesiastical decade by one year. Thus, a decade of publishing for the church was reported in units of one to ten, instead of zero to nine (viz. the ecclesiastical decade from 1931-1940 actually covers the calendar decade 1930-1939, or more specifically June 1st, 1930, to May 31st, 1939). In the study and discussion, the divisions of time units are: 1917-1920; 1921-1930, 1931-1940, 1941-1950, 1951-1960, and finally 1961-1967. For purposes of simplicity, the decades or decenniums were called the 1920's, 1930's, 1940's, etc.

A word of gratitude in this preface is more than appropriate. The period of study and research for the writing of this dissertation has been a rewarding experience. The kindness and assistance of the management of Augsburg Publishing House, helpfulness of the archivists of The American Lutheran Church and the Librarians of Wartburg Theological Seminary, Luther Theological Seminary, Augsburg College, and the University of Minnesota should be duly recognized. Special mention should be made of Dr. Randolph E. Haugan, General Manager, and Drs. O. G. Malmin and Lloyd Svendsbye, the former editors of Augsburg Publishing House, who have been enthusiastic and idealistic promoters of this study and realistic helpers when needs for assistance arose. The writer would like to express special appreciation to Dr. Russell E. Bidlack and the Doctoral Committee for giving him direction, advice, and the final push so that this study was duly completed.

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I. THE GENESIS OF THE AMERICAN LUTHERAN CHURCH

A. The Beginnings: A Period of Discord and Sectionalism

1. The First Lutherans in America

If the unusual ministry of the Lutheran Pastor Rasmus Jensen in the winter of 1619 is not taken into consideration,[1] the earliest Lutherans to settle in North America came from Holland to Manhattan Island (New Amsterdam) and Albany (Fort Orange) in 1623 and 1625, but were not permitted to practice their religion separately from the Reformed congregations. Although a Lutheran congregation was organized and a pastor called, the freedom to hold Lutheran worship service came only with the surrender of the Dutch settlements to the English in 1664.[2]

More fortunate were the Lutheran immigrants from Sweden. The first settlers in this group landed in Delaware in 1638; by 1639 they had spiritual care as Lutherans and by 1646 had their first church building. Due to the shortsighted policy of Swedish authorities in treating the settlement as a missionary station of the Church of Sweden, this Lutheran group did not develop independence. It eventually lost its identity and became part of the Protestant Episcopal Church.[3]

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[1] A brief account of Rasmus Jensen's life and death is given in the article "The Lutheran Synods in America" in *The Lutheran World Almanac and Annual Encyclopedia for 1921* (New York: Lutheran Bureau, 1921), p. 66. Jensen was pastor with the ill fated expedition of Jens Munk who was sent by King Christian IV to discover a northwest passage. The expedition, consisting of 65 men on two ships, explored the Hudson Bay but were surprised by an early winter and had to stay there until spring. Only four of the expedition survived. Lutheran services were held on board ship from September 1619-January 1620, when Pastor Jensen died.

[2] For more detail see: Abdel Ross Wentz, *A Basic History of Lutheranism in America* (Philadelphia: Muhlenberg Press, 1955), pp. 6-11.

[3] *Ibid.*, pp. 12-14.

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The first German Lutheran congregations were organized in Pennsylvania around 1703, although German Lutheran services had been held as early as 1694 in Germantown and in Philadelphia.

2. The First Lutheran Synods

The first Lutheran synod in this country dates from 1748 when Henry Melchior Muehlenberg, a patriarch of American Lutheranism, established the Ministerium of Pennsylvania. The second synodical organization was the Ministerium of New York established in 1786; the third was the Synod of North Carolina which was formed in 1803 and united a remnant of Lutheran immigrants from the Palatinate with a number of settlers from Pennsylvania.[4]

The expansion and missionary activities of the existing synods, the westward movement of the settlers, and the increasing waves of new immigrants to America caused the establishment of new congregations and new synods. Thus came into being the Ohio Synod (1818), the Synod of Maryland and Virginia (1820), the Tennessee Synod (1820), and the South Carolina Synod (1824).[5] The striking feature of this early period of American Lutheranism was its rapid expansion and proliferation of synodical divisions, many of which were not larger than three or four congregations and many of which disintegrated or were absorbed by others in short order. By 1850, there were 29 Lutheran synods in the United States serving 575 ministers and 1,500 congregations embracing 175,000 confirmed Lutherans, while in 1875 there were 53 synodical bodies organizing 4,559 congregations, 2,546 pastors and 569,119 confirmed Lutherans.[6]

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[4] _Ibid_., pp. 41, 69, and 40.

[5] _Ibid_., pp. 68-72.

[6] _The Lutheran World Almanac and Annual Encyclopedia for 1921_ (New York: The Lutheran Bureau, 1921), p. 564.

During the nineteenth century, there were some weak attempts of merging ecclesiastical bodies with similar doctrinal positions. In 1820 the General Synod was organized when the Ministerium of New York, the Ministerium of Pennsylvania, and the Synod of North Carolina merged. Because of internal discord and sectionalism, however, the merged General Synod more than once lost large sections of membership which reorganized themselves as independent synods. Thus, the General Synod lost the Norwegians and Swedes in 1860 from its district Synod of Northern Illinois; in 1863 the district synods of North Carolina, South Carolina, Virginia, Western Virginia, and Georgia formed themselves into the General Synod of the South; and in 1867 the Ministerium of Pennsylvania, with many other district synods, withdrew to form the General Council of the Evangelical Lutheran Church of North America,[7] practically splitting the General Synod in half. With adolescent vitality, the General Council soon outgrew the size of the General Synod, and in 1916 the General Council had 540,642 members in 2,389 congregations, compared to the General Synod's 370,715 members in 1,846 congregations.[8]

Richard Wolf, in introducing his Documents of Lutheran Unity in America, describes succinctly the causes of this phenomenon:

> The proliferation of Lutheran bodies in America has not been primarily the result of schism. It is predominantly the result of the formation of separate bodies on the basis of ethnic, national, cultural, linguistic, ecclesiastical, and chronological differences. In some instances doctrinal, confessional or personality factors have been involved, but not to the degree to which they are sometimes presumed to have been present.[9]

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[7] Wentz, op. cit., pp. 148-153.

[8] The Lutheran World Almanac and Annual Encyclopedia for 1921, p. 69.

[9] Richard C. Wolf, Documents of Lutheran Unity in America (Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1966), p. xxiii.

Even when doctrinal issues were admittedly the cause of split or discord, these were disagreements on certain aspects of doctrines or doctrinal issues, while both sides were in full agreement in accepting the traditional Lutheran confessions and basic Christian creeds. Thus, for years, the controversies between the Missouri Synod, the Ohio Synod, and the Norwegian Synod centered around the doctrines of election and predestination, not so much the question of *whether* God elected the predestined, but rather *how* God elected and predestined the faithful, i.e., the interpretation of one phrase *intuitu fidei* (election to salvation *in the view of the faith* God forsees in the man).[10] Both parties accepted the expression used in the doctrine of predestination in the Formula of Concord.[11] The contestants in this typical example of the theological disputes of Lutherans of the period were all conservative Lutheran denominations, all accepting the Augsburg Confession, the Formula of Concord, the Large and Small Catechism of Martin Luther, and the Apostolic, the Nicean, and the Athanasian Creeds.

3. The Challenge of the American Scene

The diversity and discord of the Lutherans in America from the seventeenth to the nineteenth centuries reflected the conditions, the backgrounds, and the idiosyncrasies of European Lutheranism.

These differences had ample opportunity in the new country to survive because of the general climate of tolerance and an almost endless

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[10] A thorough discussion of this controversy is found in Wentz, *op. cit.*, pp. 213-16, and in Fred W. Meuser, *The Formation of the American Lutheran Church* (Columbus: Wartburg Press, 1958), pp. 62-71. The Documents and declarations are reprinted in Wolf, *op. cit.*, pp. 88-91.

[11] Formula Concordiae, Epitome XI, De Aeterna Praedestinatione et Electione Dei.

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opportunity for creating religious communities of the likeminded on the western frontier. Moreover, the differences, especially those of national background, were cultivated and guarded for the sake of group identity. This search for identity was a very potent factor for group survival, as these immigrants from Europe suddenly found themselves immersed in the "melting pot" of nations and becoming actual neighbors of other nationalities about whom they had previously had only vague notions. They had to cling to some specific marks of their identity in order not to lose it. Religious particularities and idiosyncrasies seemed also well respected and tolerated by other groups. The idiosyncrasies were cultivated also for apologetic reasons: to justify existence, to indoctrinate and attract the uncommitted with a particularistic stand. The church found it necessary to assert itself, to defend itself, and to propagate itself in the marketplace of ideas. Frederick K. Wentz has suggested other reasons that contributed to the discordant character of American Lutheranism.

> From 1750 to 1914 as secularism advanced, western civilization was left without any strong integrating force. Its authoritative institutions were losing their power. It was the day of liberalism and individualism, of political democracy and economic laissez-faire, of increasing religious tolerance. Indeed it was a time of atomization--many nations, each trying to act independently and many individuals, men who considered themselves self-made, free standing, not embedded in kinship or social institutions, each an independent unit. It was an era of private life under Jefferson's ideal of each family living peaceably on its own small farm. Church life took the shape of the age. It was a period of growth for the free churches, in which adult Christians came together and covenanted under God to make a congregation. For most laymen the local congregation pretty well represented their picture of the church. Various denominations grew up as free associations of Christians . . . men no longer viewed the church as their mother who had nurtured them but rather as their daughter for whose care they must take responsibility.[12]

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[12] Frederick K. Wentz, Lutherans in Concert (Minneapolis: Augsburg Publishing House, 1968), pp. 3-4.

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In the spirit of freedom of their new country, the congregations aspired to autonomy and guarded it zealously. If there was a need for ecclesiastical authority to supervise programs beyond the congregation (like missions), it had to be close enough to be seen and checked in return. This may well explain the reluctance of some small Lutheran denominations to give up their existence and merge in a larger body where the hierarchy would be far removed and where the control might threaten local congregational autonomy.

4. The Legacy of European Lutheranism

In essence, American Lutheranism reflected the varieties of national Lutheranism of Europe. Lutheranism had spread rapidly across Europe in the sixteenth century. It had been accepted in most instances as an attempt to update the church and to upgrade Christian life. However, in numerous instances it was accepted as an expedient religious or political break with Rome. The result was a proliferation of Lutheran states with independent ecclesiastical organizations (Landeskirchen). These Landeskirchen, although with similar confessional stands, were not identical Lutheran bodies. Although by name Evangelical-Lutheran, they deviated considerably in ecclesiastical structure, in emphasis, and, of course, in language, as worship, education, and church matters were conducted in the vernacular. The color of the quilt of European Lutheranism was increased through the challenge of Calvinistic and other Protestant churches which sought, and frequently found, opportunities for parallel existence, and in some cases even became dominant. Some Lutheran churches, in these instances, became very sensitive to certain theological doctrines and to non-Lutheran ecclesiastical practices. More color was added to the quilt of European Protestanism by efforts of some secular governments to unify the Protestants by creating united Protestant Landeskirchen with one ecclesiastical authority (Konsistorie) and with a unified theological education program at the university; however, giving congregations still enough freedom to retain their own particular confessions and their own forms of local hierarchy.[13]

This quilt-like texture of European Lutheranism was carried across the Atlantic Ocean by a set of economic and political conditions and forces of the time. On the one side there were poverty, economic distress, crop failure, chaotic community life, and repressive government. On the other side there were the allurements of this land: political freedom, economic opportunities, and a welcoming open door. Wentz sketches these many faceted forces thus:

> The great immigration of the period [second part of the nineteenth century] was caused both by the allurements of America and by the hardships of Europe. Inviting the immigrants were a liberal homestead policy, easy naturalization laws, the loud call of labor, the facility of transportation, and the discovery of gold in California. Driving them from Europe were repeated failure of crops, the over-population of the farming districts, the destruction of local trades and industries through the new factory system, misgovernments and forced military service to great and petty European rulers.[14]

The Lutheran immigrants in America reflected the richest variety of backgrounds. There were German, Dutch, Swedish, Norwegian, Danish, Finnish, Icelandic, Hungarian, Latvian, Estonian, Bohemian, Rumanian, and various other nationality Lutherans. There were Lutheran immigrants with unionistic backgrounds and those who immigrated because they opposed the union efforts, or those with great reservations about other

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[13] Karl Heussi, Kompendium der Kirchengeschichte (Tuebingen, Germany: Mohr, 1937, 9th ed.), p. 144.

[14] A. R. Wentz, op. cit., p. 144.

Protestants.[15] There were accents of pietism among Lutheran immigrants originating within a national or geographic group in Europe, frequently accounting for a separate group in this country. Thus, the Frankeans, the Haugeans, the Gruntvigians, and other similar groups contributed color to American Lutheranism.

There was also a strong economic accent in American Lutheranism, representing the economic and social conditions of Europe, casting the majority of the immigrants, and with them most of the new Lutheran congregations, into the rural setting. Many of the settlers had been farmers in Europe, but many more engaged in farming as the most convenient economic opportunity to succeed in this country. Farming did not require particular skills or heavy investment. Besides, good land, scarce in Europe, was here available in abundance. Farming also permitted national settlements, the grouping of nationals in new communities in which the old language and traditions could be retained. Thus, attempts were made to replant the old in the new country, establishing islands of ethnic or national culture. Throughout the nineteenth century, the Lutheran church was known as a predominantly rural church with a strong ethnic culture, which resisted Americanization and retained the vernacular in worship and religious instruction.[16] World War I shocked the Lutheran church out of its ethnic isolation when it was challenged to show loyalty and support to the allied side and when German periodicals and the use of German language became suspect.

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[15] A good example is the Prussian immigrants who formed the Buffalo Synod.

[16] The Annual Reports, Conference Proceedings and Board Minutes continued to use the national language (in general) throughout the first quarter of the twentieth century, permitting, however, English translations. After the third decade, the use of English was predominant.

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There were also some political accents in American Lutheranism. Many Lutheran settlers from Europe imported, along with their religious tradition, political convictions which, in many instances, were the reasons for their emigration.

This accounted for a particular Lutheran political conservatism or liberalism quite separate from the theological stand, but very apparent in the congregational and individual expressions of religious ideals.

5. New Elements in Congregational Life

There are several other factors which should also be mentioned when sketching the discordant and segmented beginnings of Lutheranism in America. The factors of responsibility and integrity affected each congregation deeply, keeping it healthy and strong, though perhaps small. In a definite way, however, these factors contributed to the separatistic and isolationistic trend of church life. Neither of these factors was inherited from European Lutheranism; each was discovered here as a new aspect of practical religion.

The factor of responsibility is usually connected with individual or social ethics and so is an important element in every religion. In the American Protestant churches, a particular responsibility was added, namely, the responsibility toward the church and congregation itself. The American Protestant churches, including the Lutheran churches, were free churches par excellence. To become a member of the Lutheran church was to make a decision. It was a decision that meant activity and responsibility. It meant financial sacrifice, participation in decisions, in organization, in leadership, and also participation in the formulation of aims and principles and even in defining the theological position of their Lutheran church. What was formerly the responsibility of the clergy

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and of the secular government was now, by necessity, entrusted to the lay members of the church. True, a certain section of American Lutheranism tried to remain traditional in this respect; nevertheless, the new factor of responsibility was unavoidable as the life of the church demanded financial means. If the churches wanted to survive and to preserve themselves, they needed workers and supporters. The alternative to this responsibility and serious participation was extinction. The congregation and church, then, meant in the new Lutheranism a fellowship of the concerned--made up of believers who had made a free and voluntary decision to call such fellowship into existence and who made a sincere effort to preserve it.[17]

A good description of this new congregational responsibility in the struggle for survival is given by Wolf:

> Lutherans who wished to retain this Lutheran affiliation here learned that it was not to be the relatively easy state-church affiliation they had known in Germany. Here they would have to work out their own problems, make their own decisions, gather their own congregations, secure their own clergymen, effect their own organizations and pay their own way. . . . Here they would have to relate themselves to a far wider range of denominational alignments, involving more divergent theological positions and patterns of policy and worship than they had ever met in the homeland.[18]

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[17] This thought is fully developed in Reu's writings, particularly in the pamphlet: Michael Reu, Die Eigenart der Amerikanisch-Lutheranischen Kirche und Theologie (Chicago: Wartburg Publishing House, n.d.), p. 19. (In translation) The American Lutheran church is a free church. This is not only an expression of its constitution, but of a principle going so deeply into its life and work that it becomes one of its most outstanding features. Our church is not a state church, as the Lutheran churches of Europe since the days of the Reformation have been and in part still are. It is not a national church like the present churches in Germany, to which all belong who have been baptized and have not requested their dismissal in written form. Here one joins the church and confesses its confession through a free decision.

[18] Wolf, op. cit., p. 4.

The factor of personal integrity was also a typical development of American church life and also characterized the Lutheran church. Personal integrity in matters of faith was actually the condition and the cause for the sense of responsibility and seriousness in church matters.

Hypocrisy, nonchalance, and inactivity were less frequent phenomena in a free church than in a state church. A non-believer would not assume the obligations of being a Lutheran. It was a costly proposition in terms of time, means, and effort, to join the church. In Europe, the marginal member could remain marginal all through his life, but here the believer had to decide either to be deeply engaged or to withdraw. This factor was modified later, with the development of general affluence. One could afford to support a congregation without much faith in it; however, at the outset the physical and economic hardships were definitely instrumental in purifying the membership.

6. Loss of Discordant Members

In order to participate meaningfully in the life of the church, the believer must have genuinely accepted the confessional position of the church. In case of intellectual dissent, the member had the opportunity to withdraw and to seek another affiliation. Or, if he could not find a congenial existing fellowship, he could seek to establish one in conjunction with other like-minded believers.

This quest for honesty of conviction seemingly hurt early Lutheran settlements. Many of the Lutheran immigrants, exposed to other forms of Christianity, chose and joined the one most compatible to them. Other considerations, however, may have accounted for the loss in Lutheran membership. In some instances, the prestige of a church in the community or

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the affluence of the congregation may have attracted the Lutheran immigrant. Within the new fellowship, he may have hoped to speed up his economic adjustment and naturalization processes. Wolf estimates this membership loss in rather negative terms and attributes it to the chaotic conditions of the time:

> Many Lutherans fell prey to vagabond preachers, lapsed from church membership or joined other denominations. Thus as an initial consequence [of chaotic conditions] many potential adherents were lost to other churches better established and serviced.[19]

Implied in the above quotation is the conviction that the chaotic circumstances and the loss of membership would have been averted if Lutheran immigrants had been better organized and had had a more vigorous leadership. Wolf fails to recognize that, for the believers, the opportunity to withdraw on the grounds of their faith was a beneficial one, and that the loss of membership of those who no longer shared Lutheran convictions and faith was a purifying and positive factor in the development of the Lutheran church.

7. The Positive Values of Discord and Divisions

The new elements of practical religion discovered by Lutherans tended to intensify congregational life and made congregations more cohesive and alert. These elements, however, slowed down intercongregational cooperation and the consolidation of synodical structures and tended to shatter larger heterogeneous synodical formations into tiny units. The shape of American Lutheranism at the end of the nineteenth century was, then, a fragmented mosaic of independent, particularistic, and nationally colored Lutheran groups marked with sincerity and zeal, and perhaps somewhat parochial and suspicious in outlook.

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[19] _Ibid._

It is rather difficult to find positive values in a situation of discord tempered by suspicion. Yet, it is conceivable that this very situation was, in a sense, the mother of cooperation and concert among Lutherans. The Lutherans were immersed in the "melting pot" of nations that was also an amphora of religions which did not mix easily. Lutherans had to coexist with scores of other religions and, in the initial stages of this encounter, they were a fragmented mosaic. They realized the dangers of smallness, isolation, and weakness in facing non-Lutheran churches. In the sincerity of faith and situational prudence, in facing the dangers of total disintegration or loss of identity, they had to seek cooperation and find strength in joining with other Lutherans in concerted action. The positive value of disunity and discord was then the creation of comparatively pure, small units of the church freed to regroup themselves into more meaningful, larger units according to theological concensus. It is possible that the merger movements of the twentieth century could not have been successful if the nineteenth century discord and disunity had not occurred. Once the Lutheran church was reduced to the smallest homogeneous units, they were free to seek meaningful partners and, thus, organize themselves anew according to common theological convictions. At the end of the nineteenth century, there was not one national or ethnic Lutheran church that had remained unified in one group. Perhaps German Lutheranism was the most colorful example, as its divisions redistributed themselves over the whole range of Lutheranism in America.[20]

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[20] All present major Lutheran denominations contain a strong German element. In the Lutheran church in America, a very strong German segment is made up of the United Lutheran Church. The American Lutheran Church, along with the Scandinavian background groups, has the old American Lutheran Church German segment and, of course, the Lutheran church--Missouri Synod is a predominantly German background church. In 1964, these three major Lutheran denominations represented 95 percent of the Lutherans in America.

Another conspicuously clear illustration of this phenomenon is seen in the case of the Lutherans from Denmark. The Danes began with an independent Lutheran church organization in 1872. In 1894, this church split over issues and principles of Christian responsibility and over conflicting views on the authority of the Bible. The Danish Evangelical Lutheran Church retained the liberal Grundtvigen group. The split off group represented the Indre Mission movement and had a very conservative theology. This group named itself the Danish Evangelical Lutheran Church in North America. A similarly minded Danish group split off from the Norwegian-Danish Conference in 1884 and adopted as its name the Danish Evangelical Lutheran Church Association. These two Danish conservative groups united on grounds of theological kinship, becoming the United Danish Lutheran Church in 1896. This body merged in 1960 into The American Lutheran Church. The Danish Evangelical Lutheran Church, however, merged with The Lutheran Church in America in 1962.[21]

At times, discord provided a convenient temporary exodus and an opportunity to find new partners with whom the discordant returned and soon after merged back with the mother church. Thus, the Anti-Missourian Brotherhood left the Norwegian Synod in 1886, joined the United Norwegian Church, and in 1917 merged back with the Norwegian Synod in the Norwegian Lutheran Church after the hotly debated issues had subsided.[22] Also, the Lutheran Free Church made a similar, but longer, exodus from the United Lutheran Church. After 70 years of sojourn outside the Norwegian Lutheran fellowship, it returned readily in one fellowship with the Danish and German Lutherans in 1963 into the fold of The American Lutheran Church.[23]

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[21] The history of the Danish Lutherans in America is well recorded in John M. Jensen's The United Evangelical Lutheran Church (Minneapolis: Augsburg Publishing House, 1964) and in Enok Mortinsen's The Danish Lutheran Church in America (Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1967).

[22] A. R. Wentz, op. cit., p. 261.

An additional positive value in the discord of Lutheranism of America was the theological dialogue itself. Lutherans retained a theological framework of reference and with it retained a systematic body of doctrines; they learned to talk to each other in stating their position and, thus, retained a theological orientation and a formulation of their confessional position. Thirdly, they had to study each other in debating issues in relation to the present situation and to their tradition. This contributed to mutual understanding and tolerance.

B. A Mature Church in the Search of Unity

1. The Inner Oneness of American Lutherans

Describing the formative years of the Lutheran church in America in the nineteenth century, Bergendoff sketches the great variety of Lutheran bodies and pictures well the theological battle scenes with their disruptive results. However, in conclusion he states, "that the inner unity in the various groupings of synods was a remarkable phenomenon, and the planting of the Lutheran Churches in the new continent is a story both of sacrifice and of loyalty, often of heroism, and always of grace."[24] On the surface, the phenomenon of discord and the ethnic and ideological sectionism may have seemed to be the expression of the American Lutheran genius. How could Bergendoff's inner unity and grace account for intersynodical tensions, for mutual criticisms, for the endless array of position statements, for the frequent "declarations" that sounded like judgments and for the ensuing splits and withdrawals?

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[23] A good history of the Lutheran Free Church was written by Clarence J. Carlsen, The Years of Our Church (Minneapolis: Lutheran Free Church Publishing Co., 1942). The tumultuous events are described in pages 18-87 of this work. The reunion with the mainstream of its former partners can be found in any recent history, e.g. Conrad Bergendoff, The Church of the Lutheran Reformation (St. Louis: Concordia Publishing House, 1967), p. 276, or F. K. Wentz, op. cit., p. 170.

[24] Bergendoff, op. cit., p. 240.

The beginning of the Lutheran church in America was obviously a time of restless fermentation or leavening. The question, nevertheless, can be raised as to the nature of the leaven.

It is obvious from what took place in the twentieth century that some inner unity must have existed all along beneath the discord and that there was a design in the mosaic of American Lutheranism.

A careful study of the historical records of the period reveals that the discord and criticism took place in the search for doctrinal purity and unity. It was a search for the ideal church, either in terms of the Lutheran orthodoxy of the seventeenth century or on the basis of the writings of Martin Luther. Confessionally oriented, Lutherans pressed for a consensus, usually in terms of a full acceptance of the body of historical confessions. It is on this basis that criticisms and suspicions were raised. It was in the quest for unity that discordant notes appeared. A more flexible and less pointed effort at doctrinal unity would not have caused so much friction and dissention.

Bergendoff was quite right about the inner unity of American Lutheranism. The church was restless but it was a positive, healthy restlessness, striving for a doctrinal and ecclesiastical ideal. This same conviction is conveyed by another leader of the period, T. F. Gullixson.[25]

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[25] Said Gullixson: "The realistics of a Christian Unity unsupported by ecclesiastical domination, rising above its own national or racial stays, surmounting barriers of language and geography, are presented in the history of the Churches of the Augsburg Confession. Imperfections in

An indicator of this oneness was the common consumer market in publishing and bookselling. This was a natural development from a common literary and historical legacy. The writings of Martin Luther, the Small Catechism, devotional classics, Lutheran systematic theologies, Lutheran hymnals--these and other commonly needed books were issued by any one of the many Lutheran publishing houses and distributed through the other synodical establishments. For the publication of some materials, like hymnals and curriculum materials, the cooperation was complete.[26]

It cannot be denied that aside from idealistic considerations practical necessity stimulated the drive to cooperate. The consumer market for Lutheran publications was limited and scattered all over the United States. The synods usually had only one publishing house-bookstore, and this institution, as a rule, shared the location with the headquarters. This book outlet center served the synodical members by mail and those in proximity directly. There was a general tendency for such bookstore - publishing houses to have brisk business with Lutherans of other synods and even non-Lutherans. It was basically the time factor that attracted such non-synodical consumers, but the chance to browse in the book materials, or to examine the Sunday School supplies, also was a factor.

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that unfolding story, failures, defections, are conceded, and yet through the centuries and across the barriers of national boundaries and deep ocean arms run the unities of a great faith." See the address delivered to the American Lutheran Conference in 1932, also published as pamphlet T. F. Gullixson, The Fellowship Question (Minneapolis: Augsburg Publishing House, n.d.).

[26] Curriculum materials, such as the Graded Lessons under the editorship of H. P. Grimsby, were an inter-synodical cooperative venture and the American Lutheran Hymnal (1930) was compiled and edited by an inter-synodical committee though published by Wartburg Publishing House.

The earlier forms of cooperation consisted of easy credit, good discount, and preferential treatment, but soon the cooperation between Lutheran publishers and bookstores developed into an outright inter-synodical fellowship which, in 1913, materialized in an organization, the National Lutheran Editors' and Managers' Association.[27] This organization, having discovered the benefits of Lutheran cooperation, was a staunch advocate of inter-synodical cooperation and is credited as one of the forces behind the formation of the National Lutheran Council. The work of this association, as well as its push for inter-Lutheran cooperation, is well described by James A. Ryberg.[28]

It can be assumed from the above that the common faith and the practical cooperation in publishing and bookselling partially prepared the ground for later mergers. It is also evident that the cooperation in the printing and dissemination of books was based to a large degree on theological consensus and that the sharing of this material prepared the Lutheran readers for an inter-synodical fellowship, while outwardly the churches still were far apart. Paradoxical as it may seem that at the time when American Protestantism showed its inherent weakness and moved from schism to schism, Lutherans seemed to follow this trend, yet, in their self-assertive and divisive moves, retained inner unity and strength to recast themselves soon afterwards into a few solid and sizeable synodical units.

Giving due recognition to the theological foundation as the ligament in the ensuing mergers, the question can be raised as to the speed

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[27] James A. Ryberg, Pen and Printing Press (Rock Island, Illinois: Augustana Press, 1957), pp. 1-3.

[28] Ibid., pp. 5-13.

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and conditions for such a merger movement. What spurred this movement into such sudden motion? Were there other non-theological factors at play? A number of suggestions and observations have been made by theologians, historians, and sociologists who have studied this phenomenon. These observations merit serious attention in order to understand the transformation of the Lutheran church during the last 50 years.

2. Non-theological Forces Promoting Intersynodical Cooperation

The merger movement of the Lutheran church was not an isolated phenomenon. Other Protestant churches in the twentieth century with similarly well articulated confessional positions had succeeded in merging, arousing interest among social scientists and other scholars in causes of such unification moves.[29] Aside from the doctrinal consensus which would permit ideological harmony and give the necessary basis to merger negotiations, their attention was focused on all other forces and elements that could have reinforced the religious consensus and speeded up organic unions of churches. The key observation in this analytic effort was the discovery of a correlation between social and religious diversification. H. Richard Niebuhr convincingly argued that religious diversity and disunity reflected the divisions in American society and that denominational structures followed closely the patterns of national, racial, and economic groups. The great diversity was attributed to the phenomenon of freedom in American democracy, which had permitted every national, dissenting, and deviating group to replant itself through emmigration. Democracy also promoted a pluralism of its

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[29] Robert Lee reports several studies and summarizes a number of mergers in his book The Social Sources of Church Unity (New York: Abingdon, 1960). A list of mergers is on pp. 101-102.

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own, due to regional, cultural, and economic elements predominant in the genesis of the churches. Niebuhr's theory had wide acceptance and many later studies have corroborated the correlation of the pluralism of society with the diversity of religious behavior.[30] The discovery of the importance of non-theological forces in the making of denominations has not been complimentary to Christianity. This was pointed out very sharply by Niebuhr himself who concluded that:

> the history of schism has been a history of Christianity's defeat. The church which began its career with the promise of peace and brotherhood for a distracted world has accepted the divisions of society it had hoped to transform.[31]

Through examples from American church history, he showed succinctly the forces of division to be economic, racial, social, ethnic, and national. The conditioning of the churches by social forces had also a subsequent unification tendency which Niebuhr recognized as a movement emerging.

> It is true that under the influence of social forces which are arising out of the modern world, with the extension of communication, the passing of provincialisms, the rise of once suppressed economic groups to financial respectability and the acceptance on the part of a vast majority of such a population as the American of a standard common culture, old lines of cleavage being erased and the possibilities of church union on the basis of a common social background are being established. The transition from cultural heterogeneity to cultural homogeneity on the part of the American people is reflected in the tendency of the various churches to accept a common attitude toward doctrine, a common piety and a common type of worship.[32]

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[30] H. Richard Niebuhr, The Social Sources of Denominationalism (New York: Meridian Books, 1957, c. 1929), pp. 264-65. A typical example of a corroborating study was Merle W. Boyer's "Church Union: Some Sociological Considerations," The Lutheran Church Quarterly, X (October, 1937), 365-68.

[31] Ibid., p. 264.

[32] Ibid., p. 270.

Thirty-two years later, Niebuhr identified this phenomenon more clearly:

> it seems unquestionable that the Americanization of European immigrant groups has been important in bringing their churches closer together and that the development of a national culture, erasing regional patterns of thought and behavior has effectively promoted the association of geographically separated religious societies.[33]

About the same time when Niebuhr wrote these remarks, Robert Lee, a professor of social ethics at Union Theological Seminary, made more sweeping generalizations. Lee argued not only that a positive correlation exists between the union movement in churches and cultural unity, but that religious unity is caused by and depends upon sociological unity. Only through the erosion of sociological differences has the merger movement gained its momentum. He stated that "the social sources which once served as a centrifugal force now tend to function as a centripetal force."[34] He did not suggest, however, a total conformity as a possibility. Some forms of cultural pluralism and social differentiations, according to Lee, will always remain in a society that is free and open to change. What has taken place, then, is a reduction of social differences in terms of race, class, sectionalism, nationalism, and the rise of general cultural unity. As forces contributing to cultural unity, Lee recognized mass communications, the development of common values, a similar style of life, a sense of mutual dependence, a rise of an organizational revolution, and common cultural symbols.

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[33] The phenomenon was elaborated in the chapter "The Protestant Movement and Democracy in the United States" by H. Richard Niebuhr in James Ward Smith and A. Leland Jamison, eds., The Shaping of American Religion (Princeton, N. J.: Princeton University Press, 1961) vol. I, pp. 20-71. Quotation is from p. 65.

[34] Lee, *op. cit.*, pp. 17-18.

Mainly due to the pervasive influence of mass communications, the American people have developed, according to Lee, a common orientation, language, exposure to problems, and knowledge of issues and with it have come to share common values and a common faith. This consensus at times is vague and elusive, but it can be analyzed in general and is known in popular parlance as the American way of life or the American spirit or creed. In this consensus, usually the primary values in life are considered to be freedom, democracy, individualism, success, humanitarianism, progress, diligence, and similar other values in various hierarchic arrangements.[35]

Due to mass communications and production, a mass culture has arisen with stereotyped styles of life, leisure, and tastes, with common standards of appreciation in the pursuits of art, music, fashions, and homemaking.[36] With the sharing of artifacts and general culture of the American people, according to Lee, have developed a sense of interdependence and a national self-consciousness which has replaced the old ethnic allegiances and loyalties. Lee found that the result was a new common man: a Homo Americanus. Quoting William S. White, the political analyst, Henry Steele Commager, the well known historian, and citing a number of research findings, Lee was quite successful in upholding this thesis on cultural and sociological integration and conformity of the population; he was less convincing, however, in identifying the national and cultural symbols. Most of the symbols discussed by Lee belong to the area of leisure time and entertainment activities.[37]

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[35] _Ibid._, pp. 49-59.

[36] _Ibid._, pp. 59-62.

[37] Ibid., pp. 69-72. Among the symbols introduced by Lee are holidays, baseball, hotdogs, and Sammy Davis, Jr.

The social consensus as a significant element of growth was also entertained by Kenneth E. Boulding, who pointed out the modern trend that successfully solicitous organizations tend to grow in number, size, and power.

> The rise of the labor movement, the farm organization movement, the great corporation, the trust and the cartel, even the enormous rise in the activity of the national state itself, are all parts of a general movement in history, a movement which has suffered a remarkable acceleration of pace in the past seventy or eighty years.[38]

Lee saw a parallel development in religious organizations which followed secular institutions and organizations and chose to be highly centralized and organized, and for that purpose had to increase their size.[39]

The consolidation of strength by mergers conceivably could have been a secular self-assertive effort of the churches to compete with contemporary social movements and ideologies. It has been suggested by Wentz that in an age of waning spirituality and creeping agnosticism, the churches have tried to become significant at least in size and numbers and to impress the secular onrushing trends with a unity of concern.

According to Frederick K. Wentz, the general trend of secularization of culture spawned the Collective Age and the church reacted to it with an ecumenical movement.

> In the twentieth century not only has secularism gone global and become all-pervasive; it also spawned explosive social movements that thrive on irrational communal passions and elevate social and ideological goals to the level of religious committment. Today when populations and the social structures are much larger, men seek to merge their identities in great collectivities. It is the Collective Age and many of the movements of the day are utterly indifferent to Christianity or are actively hostile toward it.[40]

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[38] Kenneth E. Boulding, The Organizational Revolution: A Study in the Ethics of Economic Organization (New York: Harper, 1953), p. xi.

[39] Lee, op. cit., p. 67.

[40] Frederick K. Wentz, op. cit., p. 2.

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Thus, confronted with secular powers and challenged to work out its differences, the church responded with ecumenicity and unity in practices and policies.

In discussing non-theological or secular factors in the merger movement of the Lutheran churches, a cluster of mundane or secular motives usually unacknowledged should be suggested in addition to those above.

Economy was a practical and secular motive for merging, as the churches were continuously plagued by lack of funds. Moreover, Lutheran denominations had comparatively few affluent constituents who could increase their stewardship. Being stratified in the lower middle class and distributed mainly in rural areas, there was no great stewardship potential among American Lutherans to increase their contributions to foreign missions, home missions, Christian education, and other programs. In order to carry out these programs, they needed a larger supporting base. As churches developed more various special ministries in response to the needs of society and communities, the increase of the size of the supporting organization became of paramount importance.

Secondly, the merger movement was certainly influenced by personalities and personal and group ambitions. Whether this was in the form of building church-political power or aspiring to higher ecclesiastical position, whether this was done in the name of God's kingdom on earth or quietly building a human ecclesiastical empire depended upon the ambitious individual, the leader, and the opportunity at hand. The union movement was not to any great extent a grass roots movement. The membership in general was easily led, having no strong feelings against the movement.

It can be assumed that if there were sociological factors promoting cooperative and integrative movements among the churches in general, that similar factors were also present among Lutheran denominations and were manifested in inter-Lutheran cooperation activities. It must be restated, however, that the research reports and findings cited by Lee and others establish only a correlation, but that a causal relationship can only be surmised. Whether it can be proven beyond a doubt that non-theological factors caused union and merger movements is open to question as both sets of phenomena are extremely complex with many variables at play. For the time being, the opinions of well seasoned scholars will have to suffice in the absence of more conclusive research findings.

It can be safely said, however, that Lutheran mergers were promoted to some degree by the erosion of ethnic characteristics in denominations, and by the self-image of the general Lutheran membership as Americans. In addition, a theological consensus, a consensus of values and general culture facilitated cooperation. With the assimilation of the ethnic immigrant groups, the amalgamation of church organization was a logical sequel.

3. The Expressions of Unity in the Twentieth Century

The twentieth century merger movement of the Lutheran church was not an isolated phenomenon. It was mentioned that other Protestant churches consummated mergers in the same time period, seemingly for the same reasons as the Lutherans. However, the most significant of the twentieth century church unity trends was the ecumenical movement. In it, Lutherans and other Protestants saw a powerful example exhibiting the Christian ideal of "oneness in Christ". Some Lutheran churches joined this movement. Many other Lutheran churches remained keen observers of the ecumenical scene with the intention of joining it later.

The ecumenical movement, according to Samuel McCrea Cavert, was a trend unique to the twentieth century and impressive in its speed and

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momentum.[41]

Although the ecumenical movement began as a sum of existing international Christian organizations, it was always more than a cooperative venture or a task oriented union. Its function, in the words of W. A. Visser't Hooft, was nothing less than "to demonstrate the true nature of the Church in its oneness, its universality, its apostolic and prophetic witness in the world."[42] As such, the ecumenical movement provided an influential climate for inter-synodical Lutheran cooperation.

On the domestic scene, another influencing factor was the conciliar movement. Although local and regional councils of churches had existed before, the founding of the Federal Council of Churches in 1908 united the churches of 33 Protestant denominations in a federation opening unprecedented opportunities for conciliar formations to the local church.[43] In 1950, this body reorganized and merged with seven other councils, representing in total 29 churches under the name, National Council of the Churches in Christ in the United States of America. Lee reported in 1960 that the National Council represented nearly 40,000,000 Christians.[44]

The conciliar movement was also spectacular in terms of speed. Lee reports that in 1900 there were 21 known local federations or councils, but in 1960 there were 938 conciliar city and state groups.[45] It was suggested by Lee that the councils contributed to the religious life of the community what the chambers of commerce gave to business life.

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[41] On the Road by Christian Unity by Samuel McCrea Cavert (New York: Harper, 1961) is, perhaps, his best contribution on the subject of ecumenicity. The particular passage discussing the momentum of the twentieth century ecumenism is on page 192.

[42] Ruth Rouse and Stephen C. Neil (eds.), A History of the Ecumenical Movement (Philadelphia: Westminster Press, 1954), p. 701.

[43] The expression commonly designates an inter-denominational or inter-congregational cooperation on local or joint program levels. It is an action and task oriented cooperation and does not involve congregations administratively or organically.

[44] Robert Lee, op. cit., pp. 78, 123.

The Lutheran churches, moreover, developed conciliar cooperative agencies of their own, such as the National Lutheran Council (1918) which was reorganized in 1967 as the Lutheran Council in the U. S. A. and the Lutheran World Convention at Eisenach in 1923, which developed into the Lutheran World Federation in 1947. Also, the American Lutheran Conference (1930-54) should be mentioned as an important inter-Lutheran conciliar effort. Except for the Synodical Conference and some minor Lutheran bodies, all synods participated in these Lutheran conciliar agencies.

The National Lutheran Council emerged in 1918 as a result of local cooperative Lutheran activities. The celebration of the Reformation Quadricentennial in 1917 aroused nationwide interest among Lutherans. Joint committees in cities and towns were formed and many branches of Lutheranism were brought together for the first time. It was a significant experience in many cases; the celebrations occasioned a rethinking and reappraisal of the common heritage, and of necessity Lutherans were forced to present to other Protestants and to communities in general something about themselves and their history.

Another factor in the formation of the National Lutheran Council was the challenge of World War I. At the time when the United States entered the war as an active belligerent against Germany, the Lutheran church in general was sympathetic to the cause of Germany. The war effort demanded loyalty to the United States, obedience to the draft and willingness to minister to those who were bearing arms. The Lutheran church leaders accepted the challenge with willingness to change and to serve the nation. Their affirmation of loyalty was voluntary and in good faith, although the high-pitched patriotism of the citizenry in many parts of the country had turned against the Lutherans, demanding that they forsake foreign language publications and the use of foreign language in instruction and worship. In some instances Lutherans were even persecuted as enemy agents. There was a pressing need for united representation of the Lutheran church before the United States government and before the American public. In the year 1917, a group of Lutheran laymen organized the Lutheran Brotherhood of America to bring spiritual and material assistance to Lutherans in military service. At about the same time, an inter-Lutheran body was organized to coordinate and represent the Lutheran church in its welfare and chaplaincy programs to Lutheran servicemen. The Lutheran Commission for Soldiers and Sailor's Welfare was a remarkable cooperative achievement as all Lutherans, except the Synodical Conference, joined hands for the first time in a nationwide task.

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[45] *Ibid.*, p. 133.

At the time when the National Lutheran Council was formed, the military engagements in Europe had revealed relief needs in France, Poland, Germany, Russia, and the Baltic countries. Without delay, the National Lutheran Council sent money and commissioners. The successful money raising campaign and the successful relief work among the European brethren were unique and rewarding experiences. The relief work demonstrated that the Lutheran church was essentially a unified entity, that it could muster sufficient strength to carry out major programs, and that it had a role to play in worldwide Lutheranism.

Wentz, in assessing the "larger meaning" of the National Lutheran Council, pointed out that the most obvious impact it had made was in the area of Christian unity and that

> The National Lutheran Council and its satellite organizations have made a tremendous contribution in nurturing Lutheran unity and in moving American Lutherans toward larger organizational union.[46]

Wentz credited the Council also as having built international Lutheran fellowship as well as having made a sizeable contribution to the larger ecumenical movement.[47]

The second major impact of the National Lutheran Council, according to Wentz, was made in the creation of a "new image, self-identity and destiny of America's Lutherans". This creation coupled a theological rediscovery with a new socio-ethical concern.

> Pouring resources into overseas relief and rehabilitation, aiding refugees and influencing immigrant legislation, studies by social trends committees, a rural life and an urban church program--these were expressions of that concern and in return such programs actually stimulated the theological renaissance.[48]

The third major impact of the National Lutheran Council was made, according to Wentz, by providing a cutting edge to carry out the mission of the church. Without the coordination and the channeling of the denominational agencies, the efforts in many major projects " would have been truncated, sporadic and much less effective."[49]

An interesting concluding observation was made by Wentz on the significance of the National Lutheran Council in relation to the whole modern conciliar movement. He suggested that the conciliar movement was a necessity among the overlapping ecclesiastical organizations and that in order

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[46] Frederick K. Wentz, op. cit., p. 188.

[47] Ibid., p. 188.

[48] Ibid., p. 189.

[49] Ibid., pp. 190-91.

> to express the full-orbed Body of Christ, church bodies have had to depend on councils of churches. Herein lies the ecclesiological significance of councils of churches. American Lutherans have been reluctant to participate fully in the conciliar movement. Many of them have learned the value of the conciliar experience through the National Lutheran Council. They have been helped to a more complete expression of the church's life . . . and were provided with a fuller manifestation of the church's essential nature.[50]

Another Lutheran conciliar effort was the American Lutheran Conference. It came into being after the merger of the American Lutheran Church in 1930, although it had begun as a movement of approachment already in 1924 when the Joint Synod of Ohio, the Iowa Synod, the Buffalo Synod, and the Norwegian Lutheran Church considered closer ties. When the merger of 1930 created the American Lutheran Church, the American Lutheran Conference endeavored to continue fellowship among the Norwegian Evangelical Lutheran Church, the Augustana Synod, the Lutheran Free Church, and the Danish United Evangelical Lutheran Church. The objectives of this conference were twofold: to give mutual counsel concerning the faith, life, and work of the church and to cooperate in matters of common interest and responsibility.[51] In certain ways, the American Lutheran Conference duplicated the functions of the National Lutheran Council and so its existence was justified mainly for merger purposes. As soon as the merger negotiations were begun and the Augustana Lutheran Church began negotiations with the United Lutheran Church, which was not a member of the Conference, the American Lutheran Conference

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[50] Ibid., p. 192.

[51] Abdel Ross Wentz, op. cit., p. 322.

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was dissolved (1954).

4. Main Tendencies in the Search for Lutheran Unity

The pervasive trend toward ecclesiastical cooperation and the social forces bridging denominationalism induced Lutheran churches seriously to seek permanent ties with each other. Also, the examples of Christian unity achieved in work, faith, and life among non-Lutherans and the cooperative venture among Lutherans themselves produced a strong unification movement toward three centers. The group that later became the Lutheran Church in America was one of this triad. This group included the General Council, the General Synod, and the United Synod South, which had merged in 1918 to become the United Lutheran Church.[52] The Slovak Zion Synod in 1920 merged in the United Lutheran Church and the Icelandic Synod in North America followed suit in 1940. The consummation of this merger movement took place in 1962, when the United Lutheran Church merged with the Augustana Synod, the American Evangelical Lutheran Church (formerly the Danish Evangelical Lutheran Church) and the Suomi Synod (formerly the Finnish Evangelical Lutheran Church) to form the Lutheran Church in America.[53]

The second center of gravitation was around the Synodical Conference. This group was united in a strong doctrinal conservatism and regarded non-theological unification tendencies as sinful and secular. Whereas the other Lutheran groups deplored the divisions of the nineteenth century as unfortunate, the Synodical Conference maintained their aloofness as a matter of doctrinal rectitude and religious purity. The orbit of this group included the Missouri Synod, the Joint Synod of Wisconsin, the Slovak Synod, and the Norwegian Synod. Due to their position, there was no organic merger resulting from this association. The Lutheran Church-Missouri Synod has opened itself lately to inter-Lutheran dialogues and cooperation and has joined the reorganized Lutheran Council in the United States of America, which organization now represents 95 percent of Lutherans.[54]

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[52] Lee, op. cit., pp. 101-102.

[53] The formation of the United Lutheran Church is well described in Dorris A. Flesner's article, "The Formation of the United Lutheran Church in America, 1918" in Concordia Historical Institute Quarterly XL (October, 1967), pp. 143-56. The merger negotiations for the formation of the Lutheran Church in America are outlined and documented in Wolf, op. cit., pp. 539-72.

The third center of gravitation and the group that finally emerged as The American Lutheran Church is a colorful example of the merger movement. As the particular interest of this study concerns itself with this group, it is necessary to trace the background of the merging parties as well as the events that took place in somewhat greater detail.

C. The American Lutheran Church as a Case Study in Lutheran Unity

The elements of theological stratification and concentration, the erosion of ethnic self-consciousness, and a new sense of loyalty and mutual respect in pursuing the goals of religious commitment characterize the genesis and growth of The American Lutheran Church. The study of this church reveals steady and progressive stages of development toward unity, the beginning being a search for theological consensus. This was found in a commitment to the historical confessions of Lutheranism with an equally sincere commitment to be a relevant contemporary force in society. An aspect of this orientation was a concern for the individual, which the churches called soul care and lay activity. Among these churches, there was also an element of democratic concern for the autonomy of each congregation and a reluctance to accept a strong administrative hierarchy. The group of likeminded churches which formed The American Lutheran Church in 1960 consisted of the Evangelical Lutheran Church (formerly the Norwegian Lutheran Church), the American Lutheran Church, the United Evangelical Lutheran Church (formerly the United Danish Evangelical Lutheran Church, and the Lutheran Free Church (merged in 1963). The Evangelical Lutheran Church embraced about 92 percent of the Lutherans of Norwegian background and began in 1917 through an ethnic consolidation merger.

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[54] Helen M. Knubel's article on the National Lutheran Council in the Encyclopedia of the Lutheran Church, Vol. III, p. 1709.

1. The Evangelical Lutheran Church (the Norwegian Lutheran Church)

On June 9, 1917, the Hauge Synod, the Norwegian Synod and the United Norwegian Lutheran Church merged to form the Norwegian Lutheran Church of America (later Evangelical Lutheran Church). The merger was the first of its kind in terms of size and homogeneity, as it unified the majority of Norwegian Lutherans in one synod. It was also an almost unbelievable accomplishment, as the road to the articles of union led through theological logjams that needed close to two decades of clearing and at points seemed to be veritable impasses.

After some preliminary steps of theological dialogues beginning in 1892, an effort at negotiating began in 1906 upon the request of the Hauge Synod. The three meetings of the joint committee of that year resulted in an agreement on the doctrine of absolution and lay activity in the church. During 1907, the joint committee attempted to achieve consensus on the "call" and "conversion" doctrines and indeed arrived at an agreement in 1908. The difficulties began with the election doctrine. The committee wrestled with this doctrine for two years without success. By 1910, a public announcement was made at the three annual conferences that hopes for an early union had vanished.[55] However, some non-theological factors helped to give the merger negotiation a strong push and change of direction. Nelson considered the influence of cultural and nationalistic societies upon the churches as a "subtle, but none the less significant influence on the union movement".[56] An array of groups had formed themselves in the late nineteenth century with various aims, including singing, literature, sports, welfare, and even clubs and lodges. One movement among the Norwegians organized according to the districts in Norway to cultivate and to promote the ethnic heritage of the region (The *Bygdelag* Movement). At the *lags*, or at the various group meetings, theological controversies tended to appear ridiculous, especially when contending churchmen shared membership.[57]

Another non-theological influence upon the stalemate was popular opinion. The layman could hardly understand the theological subtleties and problems raised by the theological professors and so raised questions in letters to editors.[58]

Another supporting influence for the union movement was a triad of personalities, H. G. Stub, Lauritz Larsen, and Rasmus Malmin, all in leading positions and all idealistically bent toward union.[59]

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[55] E. Clifford Nelson, *The Lutheran Church Among Norwegian-Americans*, Vol. II, 1890-1959 (Minneapolis: Augsburg Publishing House, 1960), p. 154.

[56] E. Clifford Nelson, "The Union Movement Among Norwegian-American Lutherans from 1880-1917" (unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, Yale University, 1952), p. 457.

[57] *Ibid.*, p. 454.

[58] Nelson analyzes a number of letters, *ibid.*, pp. 498-99.

[59] *Ibid.*, pp. 495-97.

And finally to be mentioned was the cooperative publishing venture in publishing the Lutheran Hymnary and Service Book (1913). Nelson remarks that the significant part of this joint effort was that it had gone on since 1908 without interruptions, in spite of the "doctrinal dissonance".[60]

Parallel experiences in cooperation may have aided in a similar way to boost the union. Lutherans met in Lutheran Editors' and Managers' Association meetings (that emerged in formal association in 1913), and at National Lutheran Educational Conferences (operative since 1910); Lutherans cooperated in foreign missions without conflict. It must indeed have seemed strange that this experience in brotherhood could not be expressed in theology uniting ethnic Lutheran brothers.

A stronger and more demanding grassroots movement was the Southern Wisconsin Pastors' Conference of the United Norwegian Lutheran Church in 1911, which took a strong stand favoring union and declaring ecclesiastical division as a sin against God.[61]

As a result of these pressures, the United Church elected a new union committee consisting of parish pastors (and not of professional theologians), sent a fraternal delegate to the Norwegian Synod Convention, and moved the Norwegian Synod also to pick a new union committee. The Hauge Synod decided to retain its old committee and to stay out of the negotiations for the time being to permit the two other churches to settle their disputes.

The new negotiations began in a friendly spirit on November 21, 1911, and by February 19, 1912, an agreement had been reached over the most controversial election doctrine. On February 22, a joint report was ready for the churches.[62] The Doctrinal Agreement was a compromise and an ecclesiastical rapproachement, rather than a flawless theological solution, but it was a path through the jungle of doctrinal problems. Acceptance of the report was immediate by the United Church and the Hauge Synod; both selected new committees to continue negotiations and to complete the union. The Norwegian Synod did not have an annual conference in 1912; thus, the Joint Union Committee report was presented to the districts who accepted it with some qualifications and agreed to continue negotiations with the others. A fraction of the Norwegian Synod, however, wanted to stop negotiations and asked for reconsideration of several statements in the Doctrinal Agreement, even threatening to leave the church if their demands were not met. Likewise, the Articles of Union of 1914, which the new committee had prepared to consummate the merger, caused some misgivings to the same group. The outburst of opposition took place at the Norwegian Synod's 1916 conference in Minneapolis, when some 176 representatives of congregations threatened to break with the Synod if the changes in the Doctrinal Agreement were not made. The exodus was reduced to about 40 delegates when " concessions" and "cognizances" were given to the minority and declaration made that their opposition did not prevent them from joining the union and that their objections were not contrary to Scripture and the Confessions.[63]

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[60] Ibid., pp. 497-98

[61] Ibid., p. 500.

A year after the merger, the ~~minority~~ nucleus of the minority organized the Norwegian Synod of the American Evangelical Lutheran Church for the purpose of continuing true Lutheranism among Norwegians in America. This body, consisting of 31 pastors, 45 congregations, and 6,425 members, joined the Synodical Conference in 1920, but left it in 1963, objecting to alleged unionistic tendencies.

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[62] Ibid., pp. 518-20.

[63] Evangelical Lutheran Church. Annual Report . . . 1917, pp. 465-66.

The Norwegian Lutheran Church of America was the name of the newly merged church. Its 403,634 baptized members in 2,332 congregations were divided in nine regional districts spread all over the United States and Canada.[64] In the four decades following, its membership grew to 1,119,121 in 2,673 congregations, organized in ten districts. In 1946, the Norwegian Lutheran Church became the Evangelical Lutheran Church, as the ethnic character of the membership had considerably eroded. Also, theologically the old controversies had subsided and the various merged elements lived in peace with each other without any overt conflicts or problems. President Schiotz described quite correctly the reasons for this domestic peace.

> It is significant to observe that the streams of influence which flowed together in 1917 did not meet head on. It was rather the confluence of streams destined to find their future as one stream, a stream in which there was no complete loss of identity; rather each contributed to the others.
>
> From time to time . . . one or the other of our inherited emphases has sought to assert its right to be the life of the whole church. Such efforts have received a minimum of regulation by rules, but each has found its restraint in the vitality of competing emphases.[65]

It would be useful to briefly survey the quiet industriousness of this church, which to some extent would indicate its concerns and aims and, in respect to publishing, would describe the milieu and constituency of the group.

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[64] The Lutheran World Almanac for 1921 (New York: Lutheran Bureau, 1920) gives on page 159 a map with the district boundaries.

[65] Evangelical Lutheran Church, Annual Report . . . 1960, p. 7.

At the outset, the church had only one theological seminary, located in St. Paul. It was the facility of the former United Norwegian Lutheran Church, but the faculty, consisting of nine professors, was a combination of all three synods. The enrollment during the beginning years was around 80 students, compared to 569 in 1958/59. The lecturing was done in Norwegian and English until the mid-1930's.

One of the most characteristic concerns of the new church was its program in education. In this, the Norwegian Lutheran Church was typically Lutheran. It was a concern for the "priesthood of all believers" and a concern for the preparation of ministers. The one concern was for an enlightened laity, the other was for the adequate supply of well-educated pastors, who could then, in turn, uplift the laity. This concern had its theological basis in the Lutheran doctrine of man and every individual's responsibility before God as a recipient of his salvation without the mediatorship of anyone else. One expression of this concern was an elementary Christian education program; the other, a program in Christian higher education.

A Board of Elementary Christian Education was created in 1920 to have general supervision of the Sunday School and Parochial School work, as well as the publication of textbooks, teachers' training and Bible study courses, and also to settle all matters affecting the religious education and the state.[66] C. Richard Evenson, Executive Secretary for this department (1957-1960), in historical retrospect expressed criticism pointing to years of slow going, lack of vision, and budgetary cuts.[67]

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[66] Evangelical Lutheran Church. Annual Report . . . 1960, p. 116.

[67] Such slack years were 1917-20, 1927-45, and 1952-56. In between there were time periods of vitality and vision. Ibid., p. 116.

Although the administration and coordination of parish education programs may have been unsuccessful, it can be assumed that local Sunday School programs and adult education programs went on without much administrative assistance. The Annual Report of 1918 reported that in the previous year the church had a total of almost 12,000 Sunday School teachers and around 60,000 enrolled students and some additional 53,000 students in Parochial, Vacation, or Week Day Schools.[68] This roughly amounted to about one fourth of the membership totals for that year.[69] Forty years later, the total number of participating students in Christian education programs numerically amounted to about half of the membership, which was indeed a considerable step up in Christian education activities on the local level.[70] Over the years, some rather imaginative programs were started. A Sunday School at home by mail and radio was initiated in 1946 and by 1952 had a total enrollment of over 2,500 students.[71] The enrollment gradually dropped off and by the time of the merger the number of correspondence students was about 1000.

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[68] Evangelical Lutheran Church. Annual Report . . . 1918, p. 515. The tabulations list a total of 4063 teachers and 22,778 pupils, using Norwegian and 7,843 teachers and 38,476 pupils using English. It also listed 1796 teachers of Week Day Schools or Vacation Schools with 41,716 pupils and an additional 12,539 students in 2,469 Parochial schools.

[69] The students in Sunday Schools may have been counted also in Vacation Schools and other totals. Thus, the sum total of pupils does not give the same total of individual students, but rather the total number of participants in various programs.

[70] Evangelical Lutheran Church. Annual Report . . . 1960, p. 492. This gives Christian education tabulations by districts. According to statistics of 1959, the total membership of the ELC was 1,152,643 baptized souls. The Sunday School enrollment was 353,896 pupils in 2,564 congregations (there was a total of 2,672 churches). The Vacation Bible Schools had a total enrollment of 171,598 pupils, but Christian Day Schools only 2,882 pupils. The Released Time Schools had an enrollment of 32,580 and other schools 2,395 pupils. The total participants in Christian education programs totaled 563,351. For publishing purposes, the potential users of curriculum materials, if teachers were to be included, numbered 673,551.

[71] Ibid., pp. 116-17.

Other programs which should be mentioned as very effective activities were the teachers' institutes, Sunday School workshops, Vacation Church School clinics, and other teacher education programs. Several publications in teaching material emerged from these institutes.[72]

The most effective and significant Christian education was done, however, in the production and promotion of curriculum materials. The education board and executive staff was responsible for the revision of the old Graded System texts and devised new course materials. According to Evenson,

> The largest single accomplishment in materials was, of course, the Augsburg Graded Series which began in 1930 and was completed in 1948. It was a tremendous accomplishment during difficult years. . . . The Bible Story Time series for pre-school children and their parents was introduced in 1957 and 1958.[73]

In addition, three sets of Vacation Bible School materials were published, and aside from monographic publications a group of periodicals were issued: The Lutheran Teacher, Little Folks, Children's Friend, Our Young People.[74]

In evaluating the 40 years of work in Christian education, the last executive director (1956-1960) Dr. Sidney A. Rand said that:

> no department of church work is more directly affected than is Christian education by the monumental changes which have taken place in the world since 1917. Wars and depressions followed by economic recovery and more wars have provided the framework within which the generation since 1917 has lived. Technological developments have changed the mode of living, naturalistic and secular philosophies of life have steadily spread their influence through school, business and home life, and the shrinking world has forced upon man the urgent need to escape

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[72] Ibid., p. 118. For example, the Ten Studies series.

[73] Ibid., p. 118.

[74] The circulation in 1959 was respectively 32,502; 50,376; 39,281; 38,698. Ibid., p. 260.

> all provincialisms and know himself as a member of a vast and varied family of beings scattered over the face of the earth and perchance, elsewhere in the ocean of space.[75]

No wonder, then, that before such tasks and difficulties the effort of the Christian elementary or parish education programs seemed fragmentary and inadequate. Talking about published materials, Evenson described this inadequacy thus:

> The entire history of parish education materials in our church shows a certain fragmentation of thought and effort, which has never been adequately tied together with a master plan. This is a serious matter and a great challenge for the future.[76]

The work of the church in Christian higher education was mainly done through its educational institutions: the colleges, academies, high schools, and seminaries. The number of institutions dropped over the years from 27 in 1917 to 11 in 1959. The reduction was mainly in the number of secondary schools. Nevertheless, the yearly total enrollment of students in the same interval of time almost tripled.[77] Rand estimated that, during the years 1917-1959, a total of 90,000 persons had attended the institutions of higher education and, from those, 23,666 had received baccalaureate degrees. The church invested yearly around 12 percent of the operating costs of each college, which amounted to about $100,000 in 1917 and about $1,000,000 in 1960. Statistics show that approximately 85 percent of the pastors of the Evangelical Lutheran Church received their college education from its own colleges, and nearly all its pastors obtained theological education from its own seminaries.[78]

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[75] _Ibid._, p. 116.

[76] _Ibid._, p. 119.

[77] Ibid., p. 11. The total enrollment in 1917 was 3,575 students in 27 institutions, but in 1959 there were 9,032 students in 11 schools.

[78] _Ibid._, pp. 120-27, diagrams pp. 128-32.

The principles guiding the church in higher education were stated by Rand in his last report and survey to the conference of 1960. Considering the operation of institutions of higher education as a missionary enterprise to recruit enlightened lay and clerical workers, Rand reasserted the church's position, which requires doctrinal conformity to traditional Lutheran doctrines and competence in teaching as very basic in the operation of institutions.[79] After having expounded the struggles of colleges in meeting these basic requirements over and against the difficulties in financing quality programs, Rand said:

> The colleges and schools of the church are today at a point of their history where we speak of them as mature. They are not perfect. They have not ceased to grow. But they indicate a clarity of purpose, a stability of program and a growing excellence which is the basis for a hopeful view of the future.
>
> All of the church's colleges and schools are accredited; they have academic standing in the world of learning. They are staffed with competent teachers, a larger number than ever of whom have advanced degrees. Membership in and affiliation with learned societies, professional organizations and academic groups of various kinds are commonplace. Staff members are active in academic groups and not a few faculty members have distinguished themselves as recognized scholars or artists in their fields of work. Serious self-studies have been made by each institution. More and more graduates are going to graduate schools and making enviable records there.
>
> An interesting aspect of this maturity, almost absent in 1917 for obvious reasons, is the increasing activity of alumni groups. The ties which the colleges are cultivating with their graduates and the general scattering of alumni over the world have given our schools status at the same time that the base of support has been enlarged.
>
> More and more the graduates of our colleges and schools have come to occupy places of strategic importance and leadership in community, state and nation. Public school leaders, university professors, attorneys, legislators, congressmen, diplomats, businessmen appear with increasing frequency on alumni rolls together with the pastors, housewives, teachers who for years have been in the majority.[80]

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[79] Ibid., pp. 122-23.

[80] Ibid., p. 125.

Christian education programs have always had a strong tie with publishing activities of the church. In a broad sense, publishing and the dissemination of the printed word is a form of education and in an ecclesiastical context it aims to promote Christian beliefs and teachings. The Board of Parish Education or Elementary Education and the Board of Publication cooperated in editing and producing a number of publications yearly. The higher education programs of the church had a more subtle relationship with publishing, although not exerting less influence than parish education. It is evident, even upon very superficial examinations of lists of authors published, that a majority of them have been college and seminary professors and that their particular contributions have been in their areas of strength and competence. College and seminary curricula, likewise, exerted an important influence, especially in theology, ethics, philosophy and related subjects, by urging and encouraging publishing in these areas. The seminary curriculum, especially, obligated the Augsburg Publishing House to publish textbooks for which a commercial loss could easily be predicted.[81] Another aspect of this relationship between the educational institutions and Augsburg Publishing House were the alumni, including the clergy, as important segments of readers and patrons for whom the books were published. It must be admitted that no formal surveys were made and no research done to explore the reader-consumer. However, this clientele, the book-minded membership elite, was always implicitly in the mind of editors, authors, and managers of Augsburg Publishing House; its interests were respected and its needs met.

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[81] E. C. Nelson and E. L. Fevold, The Lutheran Church Among Norwegian-Americans (Minneapolis: Augsburg Publishing House, 1960), or J. M. Shaw, Pulpit Under the Sky (Minneapolis: Augsburg Publishing House, 1955).

Another activity absorbed the Norwegian Lutheran Church from its inception in 1917 to its merger in 1960. That was foreign missions. It was inherited as a responsibility of all three antecedent churches when the merger of 1917 took place, and it was continued with intensity and vigor all through the history of the Evangelical Lutheran Church. In 1917, the church had 141 missionaries working in Madagascar, China, and South Africa, but in 1959 there were 327 missionaries at work in South America (Brazil and Columbia), Madagascar, the Union of South Africa, Tanganyika, and Sudan.[82] Due to political upheavals in China, this mission field had to be given up in 1949. Almost immediately, missionary work was started in Japan (1949), Hong Kong (1949), and Taiwan (1950).

The publishing needs for the mission churches were usually met by the more economic local printing and publishing within each mission field. Augsburg Publishing House published books, however, about the mission fields to inform and edify the home constituency and so has assisted, sometimes rather extensively, the mission enterprise.[83]

The home mission activities of the Norwegian Lutheran Church had a good start in the first decade after the merger of 1917, but slackened to a great extent during the Depression. Although some new congregations were established also in the 1930's, there was no need for an executive secretary, and the department was administered by the presidents of the church. In 1944, the home mission activities were reassumed in full force. By 1959, the Evangelical Lutheran Church had established 336 new congregations.[84] The home mission programs requested very few special publications to be issued by Augsburg Publishing House. The promotion was done mainly through pamphlets and tracts, but for the programs themselves the general publications proved to be quite adequate. Especially appropriate for the new congregations were the practical handbooks published by the House. Related to home mission activities and concerned about the expansion of the church in specific ways and areas have been the auxiliary organizations. The Book Mission, in operation from 1912 until 1959, was organized to print and distribute religious tracts for purposes of evangelization among the unchurched and for inspiration and edification of church members. In his last annual report, the president explained

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[82] Evangelical Lutheran Church. Annual Report . . . 1960, p. 220. The report was given by the secretary of the Department of Foreign Missions.

[83] During 1957, the house published five titles dealing with missionary work (B 933, 1248, 1248a, 1285a, 1287).

> The Book Mission has been an activity of the Church throughout our history. Actually, it is not a book mission, but rather a tract service. At present, 284 titles are available through this office. More than 3 million pieces were distributed in 1959.[85]

Although the printing was done by Augsburg Publishing House, the Book Mission was responsible for the production as well as for the distribution of the materials.

From February 1, 1959, the Book Mission was placed under the Division of Evangelism and remained in this subordinated position also in the merged church with a more proper name, Tract Mission.

Another organization with related concerns to home missions was the Parish Conservation Service--"an organized effort to conserve the people, facilities, and economic resources of (the) congregations",[86] which otherwise were lost due to the mobility of our society and quick turnovers in property and jobs. The service coordinated and assisted membership transfers and gave references and information in selling, buying property, giving or seeking employment, and offering or accepting professional opportunities. In The American Lutheran Church, these parish conservation tasks were included in the assignment of the Commission on Evangelism, just like the Tract Mission.

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[84] Evangelical Lutheran Church. Annual Report . . . 1960, p. 13.

[85] *Ibid.*, p. 13.

[86] *Ibid.*, p. 312.

Like all traditional churches, the Norwegian Lutheran Church had auxiliaries for men, women, and youths, each of the organizations working for the church voluntarily, without administrative ties to it. For the women, the Women's Missionary Federation organized homemakers and married women, and the Lutheran Daughters of the Reformation worked with business and professionally employed women. Other special concern auxiliaries were the Young People's Luther League, Boys' Work Service, the Brotherhood of the Evangelical Lutheran Church and the Choral Union, a sacred music and singing promotional organization. Most of the organizations above were full-scale operations with office staffs, programs, conferences, and several even with their own periodical publications. Each of the organizations had its own characteristic program, which ranged from charity to missions aside from some special concern which rallied the members in the group. In the new church, the merger consolidated these special auxiliaries in more compact and unified divisions.

The various institutions of the church, such as hospitals, homes for children, homes for the aged, youth centers, nurseries, service centers for the handicapped or special social agencies, were administratively interlinked and coordinated by the Department of Charities, consisting of a Board of Charities and an executive staff. The institutions themselves, numbering about 77, were more or less independent, some of them segment-owned and practically all responsible to corporations and their boards of trustees. Some of these institutions were synodical property, some were segment-owned, and some were intersynodical cooperative property and operation. At the beginning in 1917, the seven children's homes and six homes for the aged gave very inadequate service to the Norwegian Lutheran Church; in 1945, after a reorganization and stepped up administrative promotion, a number of new institutions were created according to the needs of the various regions and districts of the church. By 1959, the Evangelical Lutheran Church was partly or fully responsible for 56 retirement-nursing homes, nine children's homes, five hospitals, three children's camps, one day nursery, one settlement house, one girl's home, and one service center for the deaf and blind.[87] There were also special task forces for internal and external matters. The Department of Pensions since 1920 has taken care of retirement and disability programs for pastors and their wives and other church workers. The military chaplaincy program was carried on during both World Wars as well as during the time of peace and, since 1954 until the merger, a special commission was established to direct and administer the chaplaincy programs in all branches of the Armed Forces. In 1959, the Evangelical Lutheran Church had 17 chaplains in the Air Force, 20 in the Army, and eight in the Navy. In the Reserves and National Guard programs, the Evangelical Lutheran Church had 102 chaplains and 20 more served in other military establishments.[88]

In the discussion of the Evangelical Lutheran Church, the Office of Stewardship should be mentioned in particular, for it affected the operations of all branches and endeavors of the church. This office came into existence with the birth of the church and grew with it. In a way, the stewardship budget gave a measurement of the scope and range of activities by the church. Even considering the inflationary trend in the national economy, the tenfold increase of the stewardship department's budget for the activities of the church indicates something about their growth and intensity.[89]

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[87] Ibid., p. 15.

[88] Ibid., pp. 309-10.

The Norwegian Lutheran Church inherited from the United Norwegian Lutheran Church a cooperative and ecumenical tradition. Although it did not find much expression in inter-Protestant relations, only belonging to the World Council of Churches from 1957-1960, it participated freely in inter-synodical groups. The Norwegian Lutheran Church was a member of the American Lutheran Conference, the National Lutheran Council, the Lutheran World Federation, the Lutheran Student Association of America.

The church was very fortunate in the choice of its presidents, H. G. Stub (1917-25), J. A. Aasgaard (1925-54), and F. A. Schiotz (1954-60). Wentz had high praise for these leaders and for the position of the Norwegian Lutheran Church as it broadened its range and scope of fellowship and widened its aims.

> The affairs of Norwegian Lutheranism in America during the first half of the twentieth century were directed by men who were sympathetic with devout personal Christianity, with well-regulated church organization, and with clear definitions of Lutheran doctrine, and who had also lifted their sights to the wider horizons. They saw the dangers implicit in the "social gospel" that infected so many American churches and they saw the need for Christianizing American society with the full gospel of redemption. They saw the universal implications in the Lutheran

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[89] Ibid., p. 102. The budget for the year 1959 was more than 6.5 million dollars. The budget for 1918-19 was $638,039 (according to Evangelical Lutheran Church. Annual Reports . . . 1918, p. 225).

> understanding of the gospel and they realized the possibilities of a united witness for Christ in American society and in the whole world. That is why the church body which they brought into being during the first quarter of the century and nurtured into sturdy dynamic life during the second quarter, this new creation in piety and polity and theology, has persisted as a unit and has enriched all of American Christianity.[90]

The change of name of the church to the Evangelical Lutheran Church (1946) symbolized this intent to widen its horizons and broaden its constituency beyond the confines of one ethnic group.[91]

This "lifting of their sights to wider horizons" was unavoidably linked to the language transition, but the shift from Norwegian to English took place gradually and for a long period of time the church was bilingual in its official publications. Augsburg Publishing House, faithful in its servant role to the church, was at times torn between the more vociferous adherents of the two language groups, but managed to meet the needs of both by publishing parallel editions and bilingual editions or at times publishing certain materials for one clientele and certain other materials for the other during this transition period.

2. The Buffalo, Iowa, and Ohio Synods and the American Lutheran Church

Meuser, in discussing the historical background of the American Lutheran Church, mentioned the unique gavel that rapped the merger meeting to order in Toledo, August 11, 1930. It was made of wood taken from a church near Pittsburgh commemorating the beginnings of the Ohio Synod (1812), bonded with wood from a hymnboard of a church in Milwaukee representing the beginnings of the Buffalo Synod (1845). It also contained wood from an old church building at St. Sebald, where the Iowa Synod was born (1854).[92] The gavel symbolized the merger of the three German Lutheran churches who were still strong in using their native tongue and proud of their ethnic heritage.

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[90] Abdel Ross Wentz, op. cit., p. 271.

[91] O. G. Malmin, "The Merger of 1917 from the Perspective of 50 Years," Luther Theological Seminary Review (October, 1957), p. 37.

The merger of 1930, because of ethnic homogeneity, may have suggested as easily achieved unity, yet the German Lutheran churches experienced similar difficulties as those merging in the Norwegian Lutheran Church. Meuser summarized these differences as follows:

> On the surface it might appear as if that bond [religious-cultural] should have been strong enough to produce a quick merger of the separate organizations; but closer examination of their backgrounds reveals dissimilarities of considerable magnitude. The immigrant members of these synods did not leave Germany at the same time or for the same reasons. Although all had been Lutherans in the homeland, they represented several varieties of Lutheranism. In America the groups settled far from each other, and each developed its own characteristics.[93]

a. The Buffalo Synod

Although the Buffalo Synod was never large, it had a distinct theological position and a zealous disposition, making itself heard, although not always appreciated. At the time of the merger into the American Lutheran Church in 1930, it had about 10,000 baptized members in 54 congregations, but its 85-year history was replete with colorful events, agonizing debates, and tragic schisms.

The history of the Buffalo Synod was interwoven with the life and work of Johannes Andreas August Grabau (1804-1879). Grabau was a man of convictions and courage with bold adherence to Lutheran confessions. Having defied the unionistic Prussian government regulations in worship,

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[92] Fred W. Meuser, The Formation of the American Lutheran Church (Columbus: Wartburg Press, 1958), p. 3.

[93] Ibid., p. 3.

Grabau was imprisoned. Eventually, he was released, although still persisted in his orthodox views and was permitted to emigrate. Thus, Grabau came to the United States in 1839, with about a thousand likeminded Lutherans, and settled in the vicinity of Milwaukee and Buffalo, establishing the Synod of the Lutheran Church Emigrated from Prussia, later called the Buffalo Synod. Grabau remained at the helm of this church until his death in 1879.[94]

The characteristics of the Buffalo Synod all through its eighty-five-year history were a particularly strict adherence to the Lutheran Confessions and a very rigid pattern of hierarchical organization with very high-church concepts of the ministry.

The tenacity of Grabau's convictions and his blind adherence to the letter and form of traditional Lutheranism, decimated his ranks several times and once caused even the censure of Grabau himself, as he was found not to be living up to his principles.[95]

In spite of heavy losses, the Buffalo Synod retained vigor until its merger in 1930. The strength at the time was 44 pastors, 51 congregations, and 10,341 confirmed members.[96] In 1916, the confirmed and voting membership was listed as 6,128 with 42 pastors.[97]

There are no indications of the existence of church auxiliaries and societies. Until 1929, the Buffalo Synod maintained the Martin

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[94] For more detail see: P. H. Buehring, The Spirit of the American Lutheran Church (Columbus: The Lutheran Book Concern, 1940).

[95] Ibid., pp. 29-30. The theological views and schisms are well documented by Meuser, op. cit., pp. 11-18.

[96] Buehring, op. cit., p. 93.

[97] Lutheran World Almanac and Annual Encyclopedia for 1921 (New York: Lutheran Bureau, 1921), p. 69.

Luther Seminary in Buffalo, New York, and contributed to the support of the St. John's Orphan Asylum and the Lutheran Home for the Aged, both at Buffalo.

In foreign missions, the Buffalo Synod supported the South African Mission of the Free Church of Hannover (Germany) and unofficially participated in the support of the Kurdistan Mission of the Lutheran Orient-Mission, an organization that was supported also by the Ohio Synod and others.[98] The home mission activities consisted of supporting the more recent additions of congregations to the synod and giving part support to a Jewish mission worker with the Ohio Synod.

The Buffalo Synod published a German periodical, Die Wachende Kirche (1866-1929, 63 vol.), and in English, Forward (1914-1929), 16 vol.). Although Die Wachende Kirche was admittedly a synodical publication, the Forward periodical began as a private enterprise. A group of pastors began the publication to meet a need and did so privately so as not to burden synodical funds. Later, also Forward became a synodical organ.

Occasionally, when the Buffalo Synod needed hymnals or agendas (service or altar books), these were printed by commercial printers. The Buffalo Synod never had a publication board or a printing or publishing establishment of its own.

Statistically, the Buffalo Synod was quite insignificant and its weight in merger negotiations was not great. However, the history of this synod was replete with controversies and, thus, it could have caused difficulties. The Buffalo Synod, however, showed wisdom and maturity in dealing with the merger question in 1930. Meuser, one of the most astute scholars in the history of the American Lutheran Church, appraised the role of Buffalo in these words,

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[98] Lutheran Synod of Buffalo. Proceedings . . . 1929, p. 5. Mimeographed report. Archives Collection, Augsburg Publishing House.

> Buffalo's major contribution toward the new church was its willingness to pass quietly and quickly into oblivion for the sake of the merged church. Its size may have made this easy, but, whatever the reason, it set a fine example for larger synods which could not easily forget their previous loyalties.[99]

b. The Ohio Synod

The Evangelical Lutheran Joint Synod of Ohio and Adjacent States is one of the variations of names carried by the oldest and largest of churches which merged in the American Lutheran Church in 1930.[100] Unlike the other participants in this merger, the Ohio Synod was not born in theological conflict, nor was it caused by a wave of immigration from Germany. It was a church born on the Western frontier and the result of a home mission-minded Pennsylvania Ministerium. When Ohio was admitted to statehood in 1803, Pennsylvania-German settlers had already moved heavily into the new state. They did not move westward as a group, and thus were scattered throughout Ohio and in the newly opened Northwest Territory. In order to care for these scattered German settlers, the Pennsylvania Ministerium sent pastors and missionaries and, as early as 1801, authorized a conference to coordinate congregations "west of the mountains".[101] In October 1812, eight of the pastors and three laymen of the region west of the Allegheny mountains held a special conference in Washington County, Pennsylvania, at which John Stauch of Columbiana County, Ohio, was elected president. These conferences were continued yearly, and in 1816 the conference requested the Pennsylvania Ministerium to grant authority to organize a separate "ministerium". There is a difference of opinion about the reply. Meuser thought that the request was denied.[102] Buehring, however, was of the opinion that the reply was unclear and that the Ohio group interpreted it as a permission.[103] In any case, the ten pastors, two applicants-candidates, and eight lay delegates proceeded to organize their own synod. The decisive step took place at Somerset, Ohio, on September 14, 1818. They chose as their name, General Conference of the Evangelical Lutheran Preachers in the State of Ohio and adopted the constitution of the Pennsylvania Ministerium. To show that no schism was intended and that the independence was a matter of practical necessity, the Ohio Synod retained cordial relations and cooperated willingly with the mother body.[104] From the beginning, the Ohio Synod was formally bilingual, although German was preferred in all deliberations. English was made the official language in 1926. Because of the Ohio Synod's slow acceptance of English as the exclusive official language, a non-geographic English district was organized in 1836 for congregations who preferred the English language. In spite of its repeated withdrawals from the Synod, the English District was always reorganized and, at the time of the merger in 1930, was the largest and most influential of the Synod.[105]

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[99] Meuser, *op. cit.*, p. 18.

[100] The more common forms as seen in the annual reports are: General Conference of the Evangelical Lutheran Preachers in the State of Ohio, the Evangelical Lutheran Church in the State of Ohio, the Evangelical Lutheran Church of Ohio and Adjoining Territory, the Joint Evangelical Lutheran Synod of Ohio and Adjacent States, the Evangelical Lutheran Joint Synod of Ohio and Other States. For convenience, the name of this synod will be abbreviated to Ohio Synod or Joint Synod of Ohio. This church is not to be confused with the Ohio Synod of the former United Lutheran Church (now Lutheran Church in America).

[101] Meuser, *op. cit.*, p. 6.

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[102] _Ibid_., p. 7.

[103] Buehring, _op_. _cit_., p. 62.

[104] Meuser, _op_. _cit_., p. 7.

Buehring described the beginnings of the Ohio Synod as very nonconfessional.[106] But it did not take long for the Ohio Synod to move toward confessionalism and theological orientation. In 1830, a theological seminary was established and in 1833 a conservative position was taken in requesting allegiance to the Augsburg Confession by all pastors wishing to associate with the Ohio Synod. The measure was directed against a practice of cooperation with union (Evangelical Lutheran and Reformed) congregations and pastors.[107]

The growth of the Ohio Synod was spectacular. In 1818, the synod had only 45 congregations and 14 pastors; by the end of the century it had 544 congregations with 410 pastors. At the time of the merger, the Ohio Synod had 283,855 baptized members (181,568 confirmed) in 1034 congregations served by 847 pastors.[108]

In its relationship with other Lutheran bodies, the Ohio Synod endeavored to be congenial. It participated eagerly in colloquies and conferences, aligning itself with various Lutheran groups and cooperated with the Pennsylvania Ministerium, the General Synod, and the Ministerium of New York in preparing a uniform liturgy. It joined for some years the Synodical Conference (1872-1881). At one time, the Ohio Synod played the role of an intersynodical convener. From 1912-15 under President C. H. L. Schuette, the Ohio Synod proposed various intersynodical ventures, partially to commemorate the four hundredth anniversary of the Reformation, partially to unify Lutherans and to alleviate discord and competition among sister synods. Schuette called for free intersynodical conferences, and for intersynodical committees of arbitration and even for a "federation of all Lutheran synods of the land".[109] The Ohio Synod at the time developed close relationships with the Iowa and the Buffalo Synods, which were consummated in 1930 when the three synods joined to form the American Lutheran Church.

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[105] Buehring, _op_. _cit_., p. 66.

[106] _Ibid_., p. 59.

[107] Meuser, _op_. _cit_., pp. 8-9.

[108] _Ibid_., pp. 12-13.

In terms of church activities and programs, the Ohio Synod was a mission-minded church, directing most of its strength to home or frontier missions.

Peter and Schmidt, in their history, list 45 missionaries around 1890 with a total mission budget of about $12,000.[110] The speed and volume of work on the frontier explain the growth and spread of the Ohio Synod. Meuser shows this expansion graphically, depicting the spread of the church on four maps at thirty to forty year intervals.[111] When the Ohio Synod merged, it had congregations all over the nation, except in Wyoming, Montana, and the Southern states. Even in the South, Ohio had 16 Negro missions and 34 congregations in Texas and Louisiana.

In foreign missions, Ohio participated in the Hermannsburg Missionary Society's Teluguland (India) Mission.[112] By 1929, the renamed

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[109] Documents 125, 126, 127, 128, in Wolf, op. cit., pp. 125-30.

[110] P. A. Peter and Wm. Schmidt, Geschichte der Allgemeinen Evangelisch-Lutherischen Synode von Ohio und anderen Staaten (Columbus: Verlagshandlung der Synode, 1900), pp. 349-50.

[111] Meuser, op. cit., pp. 12-13.

[112] The German name of this society was Evangelisch Lutherische Missionsanstalt zu Hermannsburg. It had begun work in Telugu (India) in 1866 and had operated since 1854 in South Africa (Natal, Zululand, and Transvaal). Lutheran World Almanac . . . 1921, p. 359.

Madras Mission had 16 missionaries with 277 native workers. The Ohio Synod also operated three orphanages and two homes for the aged. Particularly noteworthy is Ohio Synod's program in higher education. Besides theological seminary programs, which at the time of the merger had graduated a total of 1,360 pastors, a strong college, academy, and junior college program was carried on at Capital University in Columbus, Ohio, and in four other institutions. The 1929-31 enrollment was 2,274 students, of which 1140 were in senior college programs. The teaching faculty numbered, at the time of the merger, ten professors in seminaries, 29 in four-year colleges, 65 teachers in junior college, academy, or normal school programs.[113]

In terms of parochial and parish education, the Ohio Synod was reaching considerable numbers at the time of the merger. The synod had 910 Sunday Schools with 94,614 pupils and 8,239 teachers; it operated 94 Parochial Schools with 90 teachers and 2,510 students, and 358 other Weekday Schools, or Vacation Schools, with 146 teachers and 4,388 students. In addition, the Ohio Synod had 5,382 catechumens.[114] The Ohio Synod was the largest of the three churches which merged in 1930. Nevertheless, the significance of this church was in its theological position and its relationships to others. The Ohio Synod was always in theological fermentation within and in dialogue with other churches. It is true that at times this engagement caused divisions in its own ranks, but such church life was never a dull or a quiet routine. The published output of monographs and periodical literature testifies to a very intense and productive leadership and a receptive and interested constituency. Meuser, one of the best analysts of Ohio Synod's history and theology, has explained this theological climate in the following terms:

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[113] All statistics on institutions of the Ohio Synod are taken from the _Lutheran World Almanac . . . 1929-30_, pp. 379-89.

[114] The statistics given in the _Lutheran World Almanac_ (_Ibid._, pp. 345-47) are not fully updated. At times, the figures used are from the previous edition t.i. 1927-28. For the purpose of obtaining an idea of the potential clientele, these inaccuracies are insignificant.

> By the time initial movements toward unification began, Ohio had changed from a loosely confessional to a conservative synod. Its firsthand experience with nonconfessionalism had made it sensitive to doctrinal divergence. Although it desired fraternal relations with other synods, it insisted upon thorough investigation of all possible differences to make sure that there was no glossing over of points which could later become troublesome. Such attempts to evaluate other synods often led to differences of opinion in Ohio's own ranks and produced a small minority which contended that recognition of other synods, especially Iowa, involved a betrayal of essential Lutheranism. Because Ohio found it harder than the other synods to attain unanimity on the question of intersynodical relationships, its theological journals, popular religious magazines and official files are a rich source of information on the struggle within its own ranks and on the negotiations with other synods.[115]

c. The Iowa Synod

The history of the Iowa Synod goes back to the life and work of one man, Wilhelm Loehe (1808-1872). Unlike Grabau, who led his flock to the new country in religious protest, Loehe founded a church by remote control. With spiritual zeal and in systematic work, Loehe founded a missionary institute, a missionary society, and a deaconess motherhouse in the little village of Neuendettelsau, Germany, and with it built a bridge to the United States which carried a lively traffic of people, ideas, and means. Thus, Loehe gave life to the Iowa Synod, although he never set foot on American soil. He exercised his leadership by proxy through the "Loehe men"--missionaries from his institutions and representatives of his theological thought. They were characterized as warm spiritual, patient and persistent men. They exhibited, aside from sound Christian faith, a dash of visionary idealism. One of the impractical theories of Loehe was the use of colonial settlements in converting Indians. Loehe obtained, from C. F. D. Wynecken, information about the spiritual plight and needs of German immigrants in the United States. This pastor from Indiana, because of ill health, had left America and returned to Germany, where he traveled, preached, and organized support for a North American mission.[116] Loehe responded with gifts and manpower. But Loehe was also aware of the spiritual needs of the Indians. According to Meuser, his plan was

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[115] Meuser, _op. cit._, p. 11.

> to establish colonies of Lutherans near existing Indian settlements so that colonists could serve as a living example of the Christian faith while the missionaries worked for the conversion of Indians.[117]

Although Loehe's emissaries worked more among the German colonists in Ohio, Indiana, and Iowa without attempts to reach Indians, yet in Michigan the experiment was actually carried out. It was not successful. Between 1845 and 1849, Loehe's missionaries established four missions in Saginaw County named Frankenmuth, Frankentrost, Frankenlust and Frankenhilf.[118] Three young Indians were baptized on Christmas Day 1846 in Frankenmuth, but due to the migratory habits of Indians, no further success was scored.[119] This does not mean, however, that Wilhelm Loehe and his men ceased thinking about missions to Indians. Albert A. Jagnow, in his article about the growth of the Iowa Synod, describes several missionary episodes in Montana and Wyoming.[120] The Loehe men, as missionaries, were concerned more with spiritual and practical evangelization than with ecclesiastical formulations and formations. Thus, neither Loehe nor his emissaries intended to form a separate synodical body. Indeed, the early history shows that the missionaries of Loehe cooperated closely with the Lutheran Saxons in Missouri and that they participated in the formation of the Missouri Synod in 1847. Meuser reports that by 1853 more than 80 Loehe-trained men had entered the Missouri Synod.[121] The difficulties started with the Missouri Synod's excommunication of George Grossmann in 1852. Grossmann was sent from Neuendettelsau to take charge of a teacher training school at Saginaw and had joined the local Missouri church. Here a conflict arose as Grossmann refused to accept the Synod's doctrine of the church and ministry as Biblical truth. Without delay, Grossmann was ousted from the church.[122] The conflict and excommunication forced Grossman, another missionary named John Deindoerfer,[123] and some twenty laymen to move away from Michigan and to seek a location in which the Missouri Church would no longer have jurisdiction and influence. With the blessing of Loehe, the little band of dissenters moved to Iowa and founded two settlements, one at St. Sebald and one at Dubuque. In 1854, two more pastors arrived from Neuendettelsau, one of whom was Sigmund Fritschel, who became a leading educator, theologian, and leader of the Iowa Synod. In August 1854, the four pastors organized the German Evangelical Lutheran Synod of Iowa, adopting instead of a constitution only two basic declarations:

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[116] Ibid., p. 23.

[117] Ibid., p. 24.

[118] Frankonian Courage, Comfort, Joy and Help, respectively.

[119] Buehring, op. cit., p. 36 and Meuser, op. cit., p. 24.

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[120] Albert A. Jagnow, "Growing in" in Palimpsest XXXV (June, 1954), pp. 10-11.

[121] Meuser, *op. cit.*, p. 23.

[122] *Ibid.*, p. 24.

[123] Deinsdoerfer wrote an extensive history of the Synod, Johannes Deinsdoerfer, *Geschichte der Evangelisch-Lutherischen Synode von Iowa und anderen Staaten* (Chicago: Verlag des Wartburg Publishing House, 1897).

> 1. The Synod confesses all symbolic books of the Evangelical Lutheran Church because it recognizes these corresponding to the word of God in all symbolic decisions on controversial questions arisen before and during the Reformation. However, since there are various tendencies within the Lutheran church it professes allegiance with the one that strives for greater perfection on the Way through the Symbols at the Hand of the Word of God.
>
> 2. In the formation of congregations it will not be sufficient for them to accept merely the principles regarding doctrine and life, but the synod demands probation and for this purpose sets up the catechumenate of the ancient church. In its congregations the goal sought is apostolic life and in order to attain this, an official (amtliche) and brother discipline is to be practiced.[124]

Meuser, in commenting on this confessional statement, points out that this provision was in terms of theology too broad to be helpful and in terms of ethics too demanding to be practicable.[125] At the outset, the synod encountered difficulties from conservative synods, and the provision calling for probation caused difficulties from within. The theological stand required an elaborate clarification, the ethical dictum--a repeal. This historical declaration at the founding of the church body developed into a typical irenic and conciliatory stance which the Iowa Synod took when deliberating with other bodies. At times, this position irritated the more conservative theologians in other synods, who interpreted it as lack of conviction or as unfaithfulness to the confessions, especially after the Iowa Synod had formulated its doctrinal latitude and permissiveness as legitimate "open questions". The Iowa Synod grew fast as new missionaries and pastors arrived year by year, as agreements with the Buffalo Synod extended its foothold into Wisconsin, Michigan, and Ohio, and as diligent church work was carried on by a clergy with missionary zeal. On its tenth anniversary, the Synod had 42 pastors and on its twenty-fifth anniversary it had 136 pastors. At the time of the merger, the Iowa Synod had 654 ordained pastors, 934 congregations, and 216,000 baptized members.[126] In the nineteenth century, the Iowa Synod concentrated its strength in the Middle States; during the twentieth century, it rapidly expanded into the Northwest. A great statistical growth factor was the joining of the Texas Synod with the Iowa Synod to become its Texas District with 51 congregations and 11,234 members in 1897.

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[124] This is a literal translation of the text provided by Johannes Deinsdoerfer, op. cit., p. 41.

[125] Meuser, op. cit., p. 25.

In doctrinal matters, the Iowa Synod tended to take a middle-of-the-road position. It frequently negotiated theological disputes with the Missouri Synod. Indeed, in many instances, the Iowa Synod showed efforts to become more acceptable to the Missouri Synod,[127] except in the doctrine of predestination, where the Iowa Synod was a bitter and proud antagonist. The longest and closest fraternal friendship Iowa had was with the Ohio Synod. This relationship has been the object of study by many church historians and has been very carefully investigated by

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[126] Buehring, op. cit., p. 41.

[127] A colloquium, for example, was held in Milwaukee in 1867. In 1875, a discussion at Madison pressed for a pro-Missouri alignment and a doctrinal statement to that effect was asked for by a strong group. As the conference declared a simple adherence to the Lutheran Confessions without taking a strong stand for conservatism, some 20 pastors left the synod in order to join the Wisconsin Synod (Buehring, op. cit., p. 45).

Meuser.[128] It took the two synods, however, a half century to complete their friendship in a common household, the road toward union being very rough.[129] Only in 1918, when the Iowa Synod severed relationships with the General Council, did merger negotiations begin. In 1920, the Ohio and Iowa Synods approved cooperation, and in 1922 an intersynodical committee pronounced the merger to be possible. By 1925, the Buffalo Synod entered the merger planning, and a joint commission began work. An unexpected theological controversy arose on the question of the divine inspiration of scripture, delaying the final arrangements of the merger for several years. After declarations, counter declarations, and final statements of approval by both synods, the merger took place on August 11, 1930.

By the time of the merger, the Iowa Synod had grown to a sizeable church body. The Iowa Synod had orphanages and old people's homes in Toledo, Ohio, and in Waverly and Muscatine, Iowa. It had colleges in Seguin, Texas; Eureka, South Dakota; and Clinton, Iowa, and normal schools in Waverly, Iowa; and Sterling, Nebraska. The Theological Seminary was in Dubuque, Iowa. The Wartburg Theological Seminary was the most influential institution, having graduated an estimated 800 pastors by 1930.[130] The total enrollment in the Iowa Synod's educational institutions in 1929 was 563 students. The student population in Sunday Schools was 50,255 pupils and 4,677 teachers in some 800 Sunday Schools during the same last year of the synod.[131]

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[128] Fred W. Meuser, The Formation of the American Lutheran Church. A case study in Lutheran unity. (Columbus: The Wartburg Press, 1958).

[129] The two bodies met in a series of theological debates in Watertown (1903), Milwaukee (1903), Detroit (1904), and Ft. Wayne (1905-06).

[130] Lutheran World Almanac . . . 1929-30, p. 379.

The only significant mission field of the Iowa Synod was New Guinea, although it participated in supporting several mission societies. The New Guinea mission field was established in 1886. By 1930, it had 37 ordained men, 29 lay workers, and 742 native workers. The synod supported this mission field with $65,364 in 1928, which surpassed the foreign-mission program and giving of the Ohio Synod.[132]

The publishing activities of Iowa Synod were carried out by Wartburg Publishing House in Chicago with the printing plant and bindery in Waverly, Iowa. It published several periodicals, prominent among which were *Kirchenblatt*, *Kirchliche Zeitschrift*, and the *Lutheran Herald*.[133]

The Iowa Synod all through the mid-1920's retained a linguistic narrowness considering itself strictly a German church and deliberating in this language almost exclusively.

d. *The American Lutheran Church*

It is rather ironic that the three merging churches with such expressed German Lutheran inheritance would choose as their new name the American Lutheran Church,[134] though perhaps this well described their intent and determination at the time. The body which was brought into being on August 11, 1930, ranked third among the Lutheran bodies in America. As of January 1, 1931, when the merger actually went into effect, it totaled 1,577 pastors, 510,153 baptized and 340,809 confirmed members.[135] It represented 33 states of the Union and the District of Columbia and five provinces in Canada; it had also inherited from the antecedent bodies two mission field responsibilities, one in India and the other in New Guinea.[136]

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[131] *Ibid.*, pp. 346-47.

[132] *Ibid.*, p. 350.

[133] The oldest of these was *Kirchenblatt*, which began in 1858. The *Kirchliche Zeitschrift* was started in 1876 and the *Lutheran Herald* in 1909. The largest of the periodicals was *Kirchenblatt*, which reached a circulation total over 10,000 in 1920.

[134] Another name seriously considered was Evangelical Lutheran Synod of America.

Although some institutions of the previous synods were discontinued, most of them were retained in the new church. It had two seminaries, two colleges, three junior colleges, and fifteen charitable institutions of various kinds.[137] The home mission work was carried out in all districts with a total of 405 mission projects and 216 missionaries reported on October 10, 1938.

Although the official language of the American Lutheran Church was English, its membership considered itself German. The church bore also the marks of the country as the bulk of its membership lived in small towns or open country.[138]

Theologically, the American Lutheran Church was more conservative than the United Lutheran Church in America, but less conservative than the Lutheran Church-Missouri Synod. Two months after the merger, the American Lutheran Church entered the American Lutheran Conference which united most of the Lutherans outside the two Lutheran church bodies mentioned above.

The trends in membership and congregational statistics of the American Lutheran Church were very similar to those of the Evangelical

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[135] Buehring, _op. cit._, p. 88.

[136] _Ibid._, p. 92.

[137] _Ibid._, p. 91.

[138] Omar Bonderud and Charles Lutz (eds.), _America's Lutherans_, Revised edition (Columbus: Wartburg Press, 1958), p. 26.

Lutheran Church. The membership total almost doubled in the three decades of existence of the American Lutheran Church, with the number of congregations remaining about the same. The results were larger congregations and a heavier pastoral load for ministers.[139] Coupled with this problem of increasing sizes of congregations, the American Lutheran Church suffered a shortage of pastors, and the decline of enrollment in pre-seminary college programs suggested a continued shortage of pastors in the future.[140]

In 1958, the Manpower Commission reported 50 vacancies in congregations urgently requesting 50 pastors to fill them, but the year following there were a total of 97 vacancies.[141]

The growth of the Sunday School population was spectacular, however, the number of Sunday Schools did not increase much. In 1931, the American Lutheran Church had 1,789 Sunday Schools with 164,927 pupils, but in 1959 it had 2,085 schools with 351,320 pupils. Fortunately, the number of teachers tripled, reaching in 1959 the impressive number of 39,616 (from 13,341 in 1931).

In the year 1959, the American Lutheran Church had 90 Parochial Schools with about 5,000 pupils, which was a great increase from the statistics of 1931.

In interchurch relations, the American Lutheran Church was ready to cooperate with other churches if it did not compromise its theological position. It participated in the Lutheran World Convention in 1935, co-sponsored the establishment of the Lutheran World Federation in 1947, and joined the World Council of Churches in 1948. The American Lutheran Church did not, however, join the National Council of the Churches of Christ in the United States of America. This decision was based on doctrinal grounds, as the Council was found wanting in Christology. The membership in the American Lutheran Conference provided for the American Lutheran Church a theological fellowship with the Evangelical Lutheran Church, the United Evangelical Lutheran Church, and the Lutheran Free Church. This fellowship eventually resulted in a merger. It began with a statement adopted in 1944 entitled *Overture on Lutheran Unity*; it was continued in 1948 with a statement *Call to Unity*; and was perfected in 1952 with a declaration called *United Testimony on Faith and Life*. By 1958, a constitution was completed and accepted, paving the way to the merger of 1960, when the American Lutheran Church and the other churches merged in The American Lutheran Church (The Lutheran Free Church joined the merged church in 1963).

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[139] American Lutheran Church. Official Reports . . . 1958, p. 6.

[140] Ibid., pp. 9-10.

[141] Ibid., p. 37, and American Lutheran Church. Official Reports . . . 1960, p. 167.

3. The United Evangelical Lutheran Church

This church originated in 1896, when two Danish Lutheran groups with strong evangelical convictions merged.[142] It was a merger of small synods, and thus even the merged United Danish Evangelical Lutheran Church had only 127 congregations with 14,000 members and some 50 preaching stations.[143] The concentration of congregations was in the

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[142] See diagram in the appendix.

[143] John M. Jensen, *The United Evangelical Lutheran Church* (Minneapolis: Augsburg Publishing House, 1964), pp. 141-42. The *Encyclopedia of the Lutheran Church*, in an article by Paul Nyholm on the United Evangelical Lutheran Church, gives a different picture attributing to the North Church 22 pastors and 40 congregations and to the Blair Church 42

XUM

Midwest in the states of Nebraska, Wisconsin, Minnesota, and Iowa. The center of administrative offices was Blair, Nebraska, where Dana College, Trinity Theological Seminary, and the Danish Lutheran Publishing House were also located.

The United Evangelical Lutheran Church grew as much as the churches already discussed above; it had a full program of activities and a high stewardship level, but as everything was on a small scale, it appeared to be less significant. The membership, for example, grew from a mere 24,758 in 1917 (189 congregations) to 70,149 in 1960 (182 congregations).[144] The same trend, however, was present in this numerical growth as in the other churches; namely, that the congregational units remained in about the same number, only becoming larger. In 1960, the church had a Sunday School population of 25,576 pupils and 12,965 pupils in Daily Vacation Bible Schools. The teachers in Sunday Schools and Weekday Schools totaled 3,158 and 1,499, respectively.[145] Also, the number of pastors in the church did not change much. There were 164 pastors on the roster in 1925[146] and 165 pastors in active service in 1960.[147]

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pastors and 57 congregations. The 30 congregation count difference may be explained through Jensen's inclusion of congregations which did not formally commit themselves to the merger at the time, but joined later (temporary dissidents).

[144] The statistics are taken from John M. Jensen, _op_. _cit_., p. 142 and the _Encyclopedia of the Lutheran Church_, p. 59.

[145] These statistics are taken from United Evangelical Lutheran Church. _Yearbook . . . 1960_ (Blair, Nebraska: Lutheran Publishing House, n.d.), p. 134.

[146] John M. Jensen, _op_. _cit_., p. 142.

[147] United Evangelical Lutheran Church. _Yearbook . . . 1960_, p. 157.

XUM

The United Danish Lutheran Church had a particular theological tradition. It was born of seeds of discord within the more conservative Danish Lutheran milieu, when a strong Inner Mission, or Indre Mission (as it was called in Danish), group of congregations and pastors asserted themselves to become a church. The Inner Mission movement began in Denmark in the middle of the nineteenth century as an organization with the purpose of reviving Christianity in congregations by means of lay leaders and preachers. They emphasized repentance and breaking with the world; it demanded patterns of new piety which consisted of devoted prayer life and stewardship of time and means. The movement renounced drinking, dancing, games of chance, and many other pleasures which the official church regarded as adiaphora matters.[148] Indeed, the practice of these adiaphora matters was considered by the Indre Mission group as a sign of irreligion and sinfulness. The pastors of the established church considered the movement as theologically unsound and many times denied the Indre Mission's speakers the use of church facilities. The Indre Mission movement spread also among the Danish immigrant congregations on American soil, and was readily accepted by a number of Danish Lutheran pastors.

The antagonists of this movement had adherents also in the United States. These were congregations and ministers who upheld as important the established forms and creeds of church life as practiced by Lutherans for generations and as they had known them in the Danish State Church. These congregations upheld the authority of the clergyman and considered lay activities as superfluous. Since, in the setting of the Danish

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[148] John M. Jensen, *op. cit.*, p. 7.

Lutheran State Church concept the life of laity was not codified or in any way restricted, these congregations indulged in forms of entertainment that horrified the _Indre Mission_ minded opposition. The objections of the "holy Danes" (as they were called) were directed against folk songs, folk dances, and the use of alcoholic beverages, which the "happy Danes" (as the indulging group was called) condoned.

A significant role in the anti-pietism group was played by N. S. F. Grundtvig, an unorthodox but well liked Danish theologian, folklorist, and song writer. Grundtvig was unwilling to accept the full New Testament as the Word of God. Instead, he had come to the conviction that the Apostles Creed and the church that gave its expression were divinely inspired. The sacraments played a major role in Grundtvig's thought, but he degraded the Ten Commandments as less important.

Grundtvig gained popularity in the state church through his hymns, his romantic nationalism and love for rural Denmark, and his leadership in the Danish folk high school movement. The _Indre Mission_ adherents suspected Grundtvig as an unregenerated and fallen man. The Danish immigrants transplanted Grundtvig, along with the Lutheran state church and the _Indre Mission_ ideals, to America and, as the first congregations were organized, these three basic diverging views found expression. Jensen described well the formation of the first synodical body, the Danish Lutheran Church, in terms of these divergencies:

> From its very beginnings in 1872, the Danish Lutheran Church had contained some seeds of discord. The first four pastors held different views of the church. A. S. Nielsen, the first man ordained, was moderately Grundtvigian. Adam Dan, the second man ordained, was a strong supporter of Grundtvig's views. Thomson leaned toward the old Lutheran point of view. R. Andersen, a peaceful and able man, held no extreme theological views. . . .[149]

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[149] _Ibid._, p. 106.

By 1894, a schism occurred when a group of anti-Grundtvigian pastors and congregations refused to sign the synodical constitution and chose to remain outside the Danish Lutheran Church.[150] This group rallied around a group of Indre Mission persuasion pastors and congregations who organized a "Society for Evangelical Lutheran Mission Among Danes in America" and who had begun to publish a periodical, Mission Budet, in 1893.

By December, 1894, the Mission Society had become the Danish Evangelical Lutheran Church of North America and was incorporated on January 5, 1895, consisting of 22 pastors and 49 congregations with 7,000 baptized members.[151] Because of the word North in its name, this church was frequently referred to as the North Church.

The Norwegian-Danish Conference, organized in 1870, was another synod which ministered to a number of Danish congregations. It was, in principle and in theology, kin to the Indre Mission movement, and thus opposed Grundtvigianism. The Danish group fared well among the Norwegians; their ethnic identity was respected and they were directed by the Conference to begin home missions among their Danish compatriots and to publish a periodical. The periodical Dansk Luthersk Kirkeblad was started in 1877 and a home mission program was undertaken in Nebraska from 1878-1880.

The Danish segment of the Norwegian-Danish Evangelical Lutheran Conference was given permission to create an independent body, and thus a church was organized in 1884, adopting the name Det Danske Evangeliske Lutherske Kirkesamfund i Amerika (The Danish Lutheran Church Association in America). The new church was small. Usually referred to as Blair

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[150] Ibid., pp. 111-14.

[151] Ibid., pp. 111-22.

Church, it had nine pastors, nineteen small congregations, and fifteen preaching stations, with an estimated total of 2,000 members.[152]

The Blair Church and the North Church developed close ties due to their spiritual worship and the contemplated merger. The merger convention was held in Minneapolis in 1896, when the United Danish Evangelical Lutheran Church was formed. The center of the church remained at Blair, Nebraska, where the Danish Lutheran Publishing House and Dana College were located.[153]

The seminary had a long existence and was only recently merged with the Wartburg Theological Seminary.[154] Dana College, even after the merger of 1960, remained in operation at the same location. It had 688 students in 1965.[155]

The United Danish Evangelical Lutheran Church was Americanized gradually just like the German Lutheran synods above. In 1927, an English weekly, The Ansgar Lutheran, was started and in the 1930's, two-thirds of the congregation used English in worship. Eventually, the name of the church was changed to United Evangelical Lutheran Church.

The United Evangelical Lutheran Church had quite an active foreign missions program, encompassing stations in Japan, South America, Sudan, and Santalistan (India). The church was also active in home missions, including a Cherokee mission and a striving field in Canada. The scale of the missionary endeavors was, of course, small. The foreign mission stations were manned in cooperation with other churches and involved few or single missionaries. In home missions from 1942-59, a decade and a half of work yielded 34 congregations; 19 of them had become self-supporting.[156]

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[152] Ibid., pp. 76-80.

[153] Ibid., pp. 142-48.

[154] United Evangelical Lutheran Church. Yearbook . . . 1958, p. 108.

[155] The American Lutheran Church. Reports and Actions . . . 1966.

The United Evangelical Lutheran Church showed concern for orphans and the aged and developed many institutions, some with, but more without, synodical funds.[157]

The United Evangelical Lutheran Church entered merger negotiations with the Evangelical Lutheran Church, the American Lutheran Church, and the Lutheran Free Church through its affiliation and fellowship with the American Lutheran Conference. The United Evangelical Lutheran Church was a very congenial and cooperative party in the merger of 1960 and, through its leadership, especially at the beginning of the talks, speeded the negotiations.[158]

It is difficult to project the significance of a small synod in a fellowship of two larger ones and it would be even harder to prove that such influence was actually exerted. It is quite evident that the theological and religious life of this Danish Lutheran group was notably different from the other churches, however, and it may be that with these differences the Danes helped the German and Norwegian majority to shed a little of their "orthodox rigidity and somber sternness" in exchange for

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[156] The Encyclopedia of the Lutheran Church, p. 58.

[157] Jensen, op. cit., p. 211.

[158] See Jensen, op. cit., pp. 266-67. Especially challenging was the UELC insistence that if the merger negotiations did not materialize in their full scope, a two-way merger with the Evangelical Lutheran Church be undertaken without delay.

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light-hearted mellowness.[159]

4. The Lutheran Free Church

The Lutheran Free Church was born in the battle over some principles and procedures affecting Augsburg Seminary, a theological school which had served the Norwegian-Danish Evangelical Lutheran Conference and had just entered the newly merged United Norwegian Church. The Lutheran Free Church grew out of a group which arose in the defense and for the support of the seminary and was known as the Friends of Augsburg. It was a backlash to the merger of 1890 (The United Norwegian Lutheran Church), for it was the conviction of Georg Sverdrup and Sven Oftedal, the leading minds of the seminary, that the merger would injure and interfere with the program of the institution if not outrightly defeat the aims and purposes for which it was created. In defense of those ideals, a movement was born, which later became institutionalized as a church--the Lutheran Free Church.

Just as the United Evangelical Lutheran Church grew out of a religious movement in Denmark, so the founders of the Lutheran Free Church were the adherents of a spiritual movement in Norway. Hans Nielsen Hauge, a lay preacher, had started a religious awakening at the end of the eighteenth century among the lay people in reaction to the formalism and ecclesiasticism of the established church. Gisle Johnson, a theologian at the Oslo University, attempted the same thing as a reform movement in the nineteenth century among seminary students and the clergy. The ideals of Hauge were kin to those of the _Indre_ _Mission_ movement in

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[159] From the article "And So Farewell" by the vice-president J. M. Girtz in _The Ansgar Lutheran_, XXXIII (December 26, 1960), p. 7.

Denmark. It was a call for a living, personal faith, for lay participation in church work and preaching, and for a self-dedication to religious purposes in life which would make the convert abstain from the world and its pleasures. Gisle Johnson strove more for a reform movement in theology and in the church spurring an awakening among the religious leaders of the church.

The immigrants from Norway in the nineteenth century bore imprints of the religious controversy in their home land. Many of the immigrants were persuaded representatives of the established church. These rallied around clergymen of more traditional orientation. Such was the Norwegian Synod which, since 1853, rallied the more orthodox Lutherans. The Eielsen and later the Hauge Synods attracted the more reform and revival oriented Lutherans.

Many Norwegian immigrants did not feel at home in either of the two, thus, in 1870 was organized the Norwegian-Danish Conference to embrace Lutherans who took a mediating or neutral position, although the other two positions were latently present.[160]

The Augsburg Seminary faculty, especially Georg Sverdrup, had a special conviction and vision. Aside from the pietistic ethic and the concern for each individual's soul and life, Sverdrup focused his attention upon the freedom and autonomy of the congregation. In his view, the congregation was the right form of the kingdom of God and as such had to preserve its independence from ecclesiastic and civic forms of government. Sverdrup taught the absolute necessity for true Christianity to have free and living congregations.

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[160] Clarence J. Carlsen, The Years of Our Church (Minneapolis: The Lutheran Free Church Publishing Company, 1942), p. 19.

In order to secure freedom and life in the congregations, there was an imperative need for a new type of clergy. The seminary was responsible for this new ministry, and thus Augsburg Seminary came to be the testing ground for the new leadership and for a new concept of congregational life. The curriculum, of course, was of paramount importance in the preparatory and the college departments as well as the seminary. It was a program of well-rounded education within the framework of the purpose of "menighetsmassig presteuetdanelse" (congregational pastor-education).

In addition to promoting these objectives, the professors at the seminary openly crusaded against some tendencies within Norwegian Lutheranism. Professor Weenaas and Sven Oftedal released in 1874 a "sharply-pointed, scathing denunciation of tendencies" toward "an intellectual orthodoxy which limited theology to dogmatics and reduced faith to a dead knowledge".[161] Oftedal also objected to tendencies to spiritual exclusiveness, pastoral hegemony in congregations, obscurantism, and hypocrisy which virtually eliminated human rights and individual freedom and made a mockery of democratic principles in church life.[162]

When the merger of 1890 took place, Augsburg Seminary was readily accepted as the theological seminary of the new church; however, its college and preparatory departments seemed to be in jeopardy, as another school was made the official college of the church. There were other misgivings as the seminary program seemed to be in danger of being altered in its principles and objectives. The matter was also complicated by the fact that Augsburg Seminary was governed by a corporation in trust for the Norwegian-Danish Evangelical Lutheran Conference and, hence, was legally independent of the United Church until the corporation would decide to transfer ownership to the new body.

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[161] *Ibid.*, p. 33.

[162] *Ibid.*, p. 34.

After some rather stormy incidents, a group called "Friends of Augsburg" was organized. It was a loosely knit organization of pastors and lay people who pledged themselves to safeguard the present program and fiscal existence of Augsburg Seminary. It served in this role of constituents and supporters from 1893 until 1897, when the Lutheran Free Church was organized.

At the outset, the Lutheran Free Church did not consider itself a church body but a movement of free congregations which agreed with and signed the *Fundamental Principles and Rules for Work* of the fellowship. The *Fundamental Principles and Rules for Work* were formulated in 1896 and adopted by the Friends of Augsburg annual meeting in 1897. Although the Lutheran Free Church existed from this time on, it did not incorporate nor establish a hierarchical administrative organization. Its decisions were made at each annual conference by participants who signed the above mentioned principles. The decisions, likewise, were not binding upon each congregation. They could participate to the extent they desired.[163] Obviously, this principle caused difficulties in joint endeavors, in synodical policies, and in position statements. Soon the Lutheran Free Church became more like a conventional church body, with paid executive officers and even revised its rules for work to provide for proportionate representation of congregations at annual conferences.[164]

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[163] The item 10 of the Fundamental Principles reads: Free congregations have no right to demand that other congregations shall submit to their will, judgment or decision; therefore, domination by a majority of congregations over a minority is to be rejected. Lutheran Free Church. *Annual Report . . . 1962*, p. 136.

[164] *Ibid.*, p. 137.

At the time of the first organizational meeting, the size of the group cooperating was estimated to represent around 125 congregations, most of them very small, with about 6,000 members. The Lutheran Free Church grew rapidly and increased to 90,253 members in 336 congregations by January 1, 1962. Also, the number of pastors increased. At the outset, the Lutheran Free Church had over 60 pastors, but in 1962 this number reached 263.

The first full-time president was elected in 1923. In 1918, the church became a charter member of the National Lutheran Council, and in 1930 it was one of the five bodies which organized the American Lutheran Conference. It participated in the Lutheran World Conventions and was a charter member of the Lutheran World Federation.[165]

Theologically, aside from the particularities of church polity, the Lutheran Free Church was a confessional church and adhered to all historic confessions of the Lutheran Church, however, without attempting to isolate itself from other Lutherans or non-Lutherans. A peculiarity of the church, especially in the early years, was its simplicity of liturgy and the virtual absence of clerical vestments.

The home mission work in the early years consisted mainly in reaching Norwegians in Northern and Canadian settlements. Later, broader concepts of evangelism and the use of English extended the work into cities and towns providing the church with a non-Scandinavian growing edge.

In foreign missions, the Lutheran Free Church had a large field in Madagascar. By the time of merging with The American Lutheran Church, this mission had 8,919 baptized members and was served by 16 missionaries.

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[165] Ibid., p. 235.

The church had also other mission fields as joint responsibility with other Lutheran churches. Thus, it cooperated in the Hong Kong, Taiwan, and Japan missions with 15 missionaries.[166]

The Lutheran Free Church was an education-minded church. During 1961, it had an all time high enrollment in Sunday Schools with 33,628 pupils and 4,763 teachers. The Vacation Bible School and other school enrollment combined was 20,070, with 2,520 teachers.[167]

The strongest witness to the faith in Christian education of the Lutheran Free Church was demonstrated through its support of and interest in Augsburg College and Theological Seminary. The church came into existence in the defense of these institutions, and it stood by their side all through the sixty-five-year history of the Lutheran Free Church.

In spite of its small size, the Lutheran Free Church made substantial contributions in charitable work. The Lutheran Deaconess Home and Hospital was founded in 1889 as an institution of the Norwegian-Danish Conference, but after the merger of 1890, it came largely into the orbit of influence of the Lutheran Free Church, reporting regularly to the Lutheran Free Church since 1922. A School of Nursing was established in 1916 in connection with the Lutheran Deaconess Home and Hospital.[168] There were at least four other welfare institutions connected with the Lutheran Free Church which survived until the merger of 1963, but several others were discontinued earlier due to various causes.

Because the Lutheran Free Church was not incorporated, all of the schools, mission boards, and charitable institutions had to be incorporated, thus making these organizations independent and self-sustained.

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[166] Ibid., pp. 89-90.

[167] Ibid., p. 229.

[168] Ibid., p. 185.

An undesirable situation developed, however, when the corporations became insolvent and needed assistance. This situation developed with the early publishing ventures of the church. The Lutheran Free Church had a corporation for its periodical and a stock company for its publishing concern. The oldest of these two was the Folkebladet Publishing Company, which was organized and incorporated in 1877 as a medium of publicity for Augsburg College to aid in raising funds but became later the official Norwegian language periodical for the Lutheran Free Church.

The other, a stock company, was created in 1896 by a group of individuals interested in the work of the Lutheran Free Church for purposes of publishing and distribution of religious books and printed materials.

The Lutheran Free Church responded to the merger invitation positively, but was not satisfied with the suggested methods of merging. For this reason, it submitted a set of Modifying Agreements in 1954. The Free Church was fearful of losing identity and so had wished to enter the church as a non-geographical district. Now it asked for stronger districts. The hope was that a church government that was closer to the congregations would give to the Lutheran Free Church congregations a government similar to the one they had had. The Joint Union Committee rejected the Modifying Agreements and retained the original merger plan. This was submitted to a vote by the Lutheran Free Church congregation and failed twice. In 1955, it failed to receive the necessary three-fourths majority, and in 1957 it failed to receive the necessary two-thirds majority (as the voting rules had been changed). In 1961, however, a referendum to merge was passed with 69 percent votes in favor.[169] Then the Lutheran Free Church petitioned and obtained admission to the American Lutheran Church in 1963. About 40 congregations (7 percent) and a number of pastors remained outside of the merger, and after an unsuccessful court fight to retain the old name of the church, adopted the name of Association of Free Lutheran Congregations.

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[169] Wolf, op. cit., pp. 490-91 and documents, ibid., pp. 513-26.

5. The American Lutheran Church

In order to develop a profile of an institution, it is necessary to have sufficient data in historical perspective. The analyzed data in perspective will fall into categories and will provide the typical outlines or characteristics which together give a meaningful profile. A historical perspective with statistical data will also give indications of the pace of growth and will crystalize the predominant thought patterns in the development of an institution. An abundance of data studied at a distance from the events will provide the analyst with an opportunity to select typical events and to eliminate the repetitious and the routine reoccurences and the insignificant and bulky statistics.

In drawing the profiles of the component churches of The American Lutheran Church, these factors were present. Data in a more or less distant perspective provided typical outlines, and since these churches had ceased to exist, the profiles could be drawn with a certain sense of finality. They were all in a sense like closed entries in a bibliography.

The American Lutheran Church, however, is like an open entry. It was created, an enormous foundation was built, an elaborate design for the future was made. Nevertheless, this was only a beginning; its future was still on the drawing board. Even in terms of the merger itself, it was a composite of unmixed parts. It was true that The American Lutheran Church was one church, but it was more like a container with ingredients in layers unmixed. As a melting pot of ecclesiastical traditions, it had joined the ingredients together, but they had not yet melted into one fellowship. The merger had been complete in the administrative organization in common endeavors, in projects, in the general program, but it was far from complete in local congregations. In general, and especially in rural areas and small towns, the congregations held old traditions and cherished old allegiances. In local congregations, constituent memberships changed slowly and their mobility reflected the trend in society; the turnover was fast in cities, but slow in town and country areas. There were, of course, parish alignments, local mergers and joint pastorates taking place, old congregations going out of existence and new congregations emerging, but for the bulk of congregations, life went on without spectacular changes from pre-merger days. Indeed, this aspect of retaining traditions and particularities was guaranteed by Article I, section six of the Articles of Union,

> Each of the uniting Churches brings with it a rich heritage of Christian convictions, insights, and emphases which have become a part of its life and work, and which have been expressed from time to time in official documents. We have made these available to each other for study and evaluation. We acknowledge mutually that we have found nothing in them which for the purpose of union requires repudiation. On the contrary, we rejoice in the anticipation that each of the uniting Churches will contribute much from its own historical heritage to the spiritual enrichment of The American Lutheran Church.[170]

The size of the new merged church was enormous compared to the size of the church bodies before the 1960's. This consolidated strength, which was displayed in the formation of The American Lutheran Church and the Lutheran Church of America, had been present in the previous decade in the Lutheran Church-Missouri Synod. Now the mergers produced two additional equals in size and divided American Lutheranism into three parts. There were, of course, a number of small unmerged churches, but statistically they were not of significant size and number. In 1966, The American Lutheran Church was the third largest Lutheran Church in the United States, with 2,648,111 baptized members, and 5,240 congregations. It had 5,321 Sunday Schools with 833,061 students taught by 106,726 Sunday School teachers.[171] In higher education, the church had eleven colleges and four theological seminaries. The total enrollment of all colleges in 1965 was 17,877 students, of whom 10,353 were members of The American Lutheran Church. The enrollment in the theological seminaries was 1,014 in 1961, but this figure dropped to 808 in 1966.[172]

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[170] Report of the Joint Union Committee to the Conventions of the Negotiating Bodies 1958 (Minneapolis: Evangelical Lutheran Church, 1958), p. 130.

In spite of the merger, which distributed the congregations considerably, the main concentration of congregations did not shift away from the Midwest. The core of the church remained in Minnesota, Wisconsin, Ohio, Iowa, and the Dakotas, with a light sprinkling of congregations in the East and the South. The Northwestern part of the country had a somewhat heavier distribution of the church population and congregations.[173]

As nearly one-third of the congregations of The American Lutheran Church are located in communities of 2,500 inhabitants or less, and another third in communities of 25,000 inhabitants or less, a Department of Church in Town and Country was established under the Division of

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[171] The American Lutheran Church. Yearbook . . . 1968, pp. 286-7.

[172] From The American Lutheran Church. Reports and Actions . . . 1966, p. 304.

[173] The American Lutheran Church. Yearbook . . . 1968, pp. 289-90.

American Missions.[174] This department, unlike any other church program before, was concerned with "education for action" organizing continuing education conferences and seminars for pastors and town and country church leaders. At these encounters, church officials and pastors learned about their particular problems and sought to relate the religious presuppositions to their particular situation and life.[175]

The remaining third of the congregations in The American Lutheran Church were assisted in their problems by the Department of the Urban Church. This department also dealt with current problems of the cities related to civil rights, ghettos, violence, political action, and community organization and other problems and cooperated with the departments of Social Service and Social Action and Research in these matters.

The Division of World Missions acquired responsibilities of the merged churches that literally spanned the world. In 1965, it administered 699 full-time missionaries (and their wives) in Brazil, Cameroun, and the Central African Republic, Columbia, Ethiopia, Hong Kong, India, Japan, Madagascar, New Guinea, Nigeria, South Africa, and Taiwan. In most areas of missionary work, indigenous churches were in full charge of the administrative and ecclesiastical matters, having missionaries of The American Lutheran Church in advisory or staff personnel roles or manning special stations or services. The wide range of responsibilities of The American Lutheran Church in American and world mission areas required extensive financial support, which to some extent measured the size of the engagements and the willingness of the giver. To the world missions, the church allocated from its budget $3,599,518 for the current needs and $550,000 for a building program. The American or home missions received $3,813,154 for current operations and also $550,000 for their "forward phase".[176] The highest yearly subsidies next to the two mission programs above were college education, with about three million dollars allocated in 1966 (including their "forward phase"), and social service, with $1,127,848 allocation the same year.[177]

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[174] The American Lutheran Church. Reports and Actions . . . 1966, p. 277.

[175] Ibid., pp. 277-78.

The Social Service Division program of The American Lutheran Church encompassed some 200 incorporated agencies in various social service areas (among them were 109 retirement and nursing homes) and assisted financially 30 inter-Lutheran multiple service agencies.[178]

The American Lutheran Church continued a traditional and conservative program engaging a Commission on Evangelism and a Commission on Worship and Church Music, but it showed also progressive and modern traits through the work of the Commission on Research and Social Action, the Commission of Public Communication, and the Standing Committee on Inter-Church Relations.

The total budget for The American Lutheran Church averaged in the mid-1960's around 21 million dollars.[179] This sum included only the monies collected and disbursed through the treasury of the church, and did not include the financing of institutions, congregations, or other self-supporting programs. One of the institutions that did not need a subsidy, but was entirely self-supporting, was Augsburg Publishing House, administered by the church through a Division of Publications and a Board of Publications. Its gross profit in 1965 was $3.3 million dollars from net sales of $8.3 million. After subsidizing church periodicals and any other service program that needed subsidy, the Augsburg Publishing House turned over a contribution to the church of $100,000.[180]

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[176] Ibid., pp. 230-31.

[177] Ibid., p. 230.

[178] Ibid., pp. 419, 425, 427.

[179] Ibid., p. 230.

The size of the church necessitated an establishment of retirement, medical, and disability insurance programs which were administered by the Board of Pensions.

The American Lutheran Church had consolidated auxiliaries in few but strong organizations. The American Lutheran Church Men had 51,778 members, The American Lutheran Church Women had 354,324 members in 1966. The Luther League during the same year had 140,682 members.[181]

The American Lutheran Church had a lively interest in the ecumenical and conciliar organizations. It contributed around three million dollars yearly to these cooperative enterprises.[182] In relationships with other Lutheran churches, The American Lutheran Church was open and ready to negotiate another more inclusive merger. In view of this, The American Lutheran Church sought pulpit and altar fellowship with the Lutheran Church-Missouri Synod and the Lutheran Church in America.[183]

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[180] Ibid., p. 395.

[181] The American Lutheran Church. Yearbook . . . 1968, p. 293.

[182] The American Lutheran Church. Reports and Actions . . . 1966, p. 230.

[183] Ibid., p. 573.

II. THE HISTORY OF THE PUBLISHING CONCERNS SERVING THE AMERICAN LUTHERAN CHURCH AND ITS ANTECEDENT SYNODS

A. Publishing in the Buffalo, Iowa, and Ohio Synods

The American Lutheran Church of 1930 was formed from the merger of the Buffalo, Iowa, and Ohio Synods. The merger caused a consolidation of the departments and auxiliaries, as well as the streamlining and pruning of some activities to avoid duplication. The publishing activities of the three churches were blended into one publishing concern, although for awhile the two stronger publishing establishments and traditions remained separate. The weakest of the three could contribute little more than a spirit of synodical identity, in the absence of facilities, organizational structure, or even a name.

1. The Buffalo Synod

As already stated in the historical description of the Buffalo Synod, this Synod did not develop its own publishing facilities. It even published its two periodicals, *Die Wachende Kirche* and *Forward*, as printing jobs without overhead expenditures so as not to burden the church treasury and budgets.[1] These periodicals were staffed by volunteers, usually headquartered at the home of the editor. In order to confirm the information about the Synod's rather informal and minuscule publishing, the present writer queried two prominent members of the former Buffalo Synod: Pastor E. Helmuth Stolz of Milwaukee, Wisconsin, and Professor H. C. Leupold, the last English language secretary of the Synod. The former is pastor at St. Paul's Lutheran Church, the church

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[1] Both publications, nevertheless, were considered as official organs of the church and at the time of merger in 1930 the church covered the operating deficits in full. American Lutheran Church. *Minutes of the First Convention . . . 1930*, p. 25.

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where the last editor of Wachende Kirche, Pastor K. A. Hoessel, served. Pastor Stolz, who was not able to furnish more information than the statements suggested by the writer, advised him to write to Professor H. C. Leupold.[2] Leupold, presently professor of Old Testament at the Capital University, stated the following in his letter of December 9, 1967:

> To the best of my knowledge there is no official record anywhere in the documentary materials of the Buffalo Synod that gives a history of the publishing activities of the Synod. I can give you a summary of what I recall on the subject.
>
> There was no publication house owned and operated by Buffalo Synod. Whatever printing had to be done, like the printing of hymnals and church service books (Agenden) and church papers (like Die Wachende Kirche) was taken care of by printing houses in Buffalo, that did job printing. . . . Buffalo Synod never had a publication board or a printing establishment of its own. For about fifty years the Wachende Kirche had as its editor the man appointed to this task by the Synod. A few monographs may have been published at the direction of Synod and at synodical expense.
>
> In 1914 an English church paper was started, The Forward. It was first sponsored by a group of pastors of the Synod, but after some five years, it became a synodical venture. The printing of this, however, was done by a printing firm in Erie, Pennsylvania.[3]

The only regular yearly publications were the synodical reports edited by the secretary of the Synod and printed by the Volksfreund Printing Company, 46-48 Broadway, Buffalo, New York. The German and English minutes of the Synod were usually issued separately. They were distributed free, but expenses were defrayed by collections taken up in the congregations. The financial reports appeared in English in both language editions.[4] The annual reports of the Buffalo Synod, the German and the English editions alike, not only were small pamphlets in comparison with similar publications of other synods, but they were, also, rather informal in reporting the programs and financial records of the church. The perusal of a sample copy of the annual reports shows that the thirty-three page pamphlet covers the denominational activities in their totality, and it has, also, a statistical report of the previous year. This report contains two publication-related motions, establishing committees for the task of selection of appropriate materials from other publishers, and to have these recommended for synodical use. Thus, an English hymnal and an English catechism were chosen in 1919, or soon after, and recommended for use in the Buffalo Synod.[5]

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[2] Information obtained from E. Helmuth Stolz, November 10, 1967.

[3] Letter from H. C. Leupold, December 9, 1967. This assertion by Leupold was substantiated by examining publications before 1917. The private publishers were Buffalo firms, Reinecke and Zesch and Volksfreund Printing Company.

It is understandable that a denomination with only a few thousand baptized members and several dozen congregations and pastors scarcely required its own publishing concern. It is understandable, also, that a denomination should learn to live with publications of other denominations with similar backgrounds. The Iowa Synod, the Ohio Synod, and even the Missouri Synod, produced a variety of publications from which the Buffalo Synod could draw. This is very evident from the advertising and credit lines in the _Wachende Kirche_ and _Forward_, although among the book reviews criticisms are not infrequent and some publications are condemned outright.

It is evident that the Buffalo Synod did not contribute much to the book publishing output of The American Lutheran Church. As an antecedent body of a merged church, it perhaps exerted some indirect influence with its religious orientation and challenge to the other church bodies, prompting them to formulate and express their differing views more forcefully. It also provided, probably, a market of consumers, consumers with theological interests, with ready minds to contest any other position and to defend their own. It is impossible to measure how many books were bought and how they were read and used by members of the Buffalo Synod over the years. Therefore, it is difficult to generalize regarding the consumer market of the Buffalo Synod.

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[4] A sample report: Lutheran Synod of Buffalo. _Proceedings . . . 1919_ (printed by Volksfreund Printing Co., 1919).

[5] _Ibid._, pp. 26-27.

2. Wartburg Publishing House of Chicago

The Iowa Synod was much larger than the Buffalo Synod and had the potential for a strong publishing program, especially if it chose to cooperate with other Lutherans. The Iowa Synod had 131,000 members in 1917 and 216,000 members in 1930. The headquarters of the Wartburg Publishing House were in Chicago. The theological position of this synod was moderate orthodoxy, with added elements of pietism and missionary interests. The predominant attitude was one of tolerant ecumenism, although this tolerance was, at times, suspect to the Missouri Synod Lutherans, the members of the Buffalo Synod, and even the Ohio Synod. The suspicions, however, were never so strong as to disrupt theological debate and cooperation. Thus, in this setting, the Wartburg Publishing House could have developed and grown into a strong institution.

Yet, the Iowa Synod did not succeed well as a book publisher. In the decade and a half before the merger in the American Lutheran Church, the Wartburg Publishing House was handicapped by inner conflicts and indecision related to its location and future. It is ironic that, at the time of the merger of the Norwegian Evangelical Lutheran Church in

1917 and the consolidation of the Augsburg Publishing House in Minneapolis, the ecumenical Iowa Synod should have had inner conflicts which handicapped its outreach and service to others and confined its size and program to a comparatively small operation.

Due to a lagging growth and vitality, as we shall see, the Wartburg Publishing House did not exert the needed influence in the merger negotiations in 1930. Because the preferred Lutheran Book Concern had much more to offer in terms of facilities and staff, the location of the consolidated publishing house became Columbus, Ohio, instead of Chicago, Illinois. Perhaps, if Chicago had been the center of publishing for the old American Lutheran Church, it could have become the center of the new American Lutheran Church in the merger of 1960, defeating Minneapolis as the best location for the Augsburg Publishing House.

The inner conflicts of the Wartburg Publishing House arose over a mundane matter, namely, that of its location and consolidation, but their effects weakened all aspects of the operation. When a decision was finally reached in 1921 to remain in Chicago, the Wartburg Publishing House was a crippled and a financially drained publishing concern, unable to capitalize from its excellent location.

In 1917, the Wartburg Publishing House was a physically divided establishment. The publishing offices and the bookstores were located on 623-633 South Wabash Avenue, Chicago. Here was the office of Paulus List, the manager of the House and the treasurer of the Board of Publication. The printing plant and office and the bindery, under the management of O. Nitardy, were located about 300 miles northwest of Chicago in Waverly, Iowa. Mr. Nitardy, on occasion, proceeded rather independently of the general manager. Dr. C. H. Graening, the president and executive officer of the Board of Publication, lived in Waverly, where he practiced medicine. Also, the other members of the Board of Publication lived outside Chicago, some near Waverly but others scattered throughout the Midwest.

It is quite clear that the division of the publishing house and dispersion of the Board made all executive and office routines inefficient and painfully slow. The Board was aware of the problem, and as early as 1916 it appointed a subcommittee to study and report on the unification of the Wartburg Publishing House. A committee prepared a lengthy report listing positive and negative factors and criteria for consolidation of the institution either in Chicago or in Waverly.[6] In spite of the subcommittee's recommendation and the demonstrated benefits of a consolidation in Waverly, the Board of Publication barely passed the motion to transfer all publishing activities to Waverly.[7]

The Waverly consolidation effort, although formally approved by the Board of Publication, had to be ratified by the Church Council and the Committee on Finance of the Iowa Synod. Thus, on January 30, 1918, at Dubuque, Iowa, representatives of the Board of Publication appeared before the two bodies in joint session for a hearing, at which the move to Waverly was not approved. Instead, the Council ordered the consolidation of the Wartburg Publishing House in Chicago.

The Board of Publication considered this decision as final and not anticipating a possible reversal authorized its Finance Committee to sell the Waverly property and proceeded to plan temporary accommodations and a permanent facility for the future. On April 17, 1918, the Building Committee of the Board of Publications reported to the Council that a property on Calumet and 22nd Street was available for $40,000, and estimated another $40,000 for a substantial addition and remodeling.

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[6] Bericht des Subkomitees des Publikationskomitees fuer die frage der Vereinigung der letzt getrennten Departments des Geschaeftes. 6 pp. (Archives Collection. Augsburg Publishing House.)

[7] Protokoll der Sitzung des Publikationskomitees. July 11, 12, 1917. (Archives Collection, Augsburg Publishing House).

The inter-committee negotiations revealed that neither the Synod nor the Publishing House wanted to be responsible for a loan of this size. During the preceeding two years, the German-speaking Lutherans had experienced various forms of anti-German discrimination and had heard about some drastic measures taken against German-speaking people. As a result, the circulation of German periodicals was falling and there was an expectation that at any time the U. S. Federal Government would stop their publication as a wartime measure.[8] As a result of the general climate of fear and expected repression, the Wartburg Publishing House could not guarantee the repayment of a loan, nor was the church willing to risk an $80,000 investment in an uncertain enterprise. The synodical authorities acted on this apprehension on July 15 and 16, 1918, by ordering the Board of Publication to abandon its plan. The Council recommended as the best action under the circumstances that the Board either rent suitable quarters in Chicago and consolidate the House in this way, or continue to operate as before in two locations. The Board felt it inadvisable to make the major consolidation move to rented quarters, and thus chose to continue to operate in both Chicago and Waverly.

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[8] Protokoll der Versammlung des Publikationskomitees. Wartburg Seminary, Dubuque, Iowa, April 17, 1918. Item 6 "Der Vorsitzende weist darauf hin, dass unser geschaeft sich wegen des Krieges in einer kritischen Lage befinde. Die antideutsche Stroemung sei im Wachsen begriffen; es sei Gefahr, dass die Veroeffentlichung unserer Blaetter in deutscher Sprache verboten werde, dass unser deutsches Geschaeft zurueckgehen und unsere Profite sehr gering seien wuerde."

The desire to consolidate and move to Chicago persisted in the minds of the Board members. Also, communications were sent to the headquarters prompting action. The letters and perhaps other contacts exerted enough influence on the Council to give permission to the Board of Publication to innitiate the purchase of another piece of property, a large mansion at 2018 Calumet Avenue, Chicago, for $15,000, to proceed with planning for a new building for a publishing house, and to obtain a loan not exceeding $85,000.[9] This project did not materialize as the lowest bid submitted was $133,000.[10]

In the meanwhile, adverse circumstances had set in: a Building Trade Union strike took place in Chicago and a deficit occurred in the year's operations of the House.[11] It was decided to postpone building until the next fiscal year and to continue to rent the recently acquired property. The delay in building operations necessitated some additional expenditures in Waverly--a rental of additional office space for the shipping department.

The most unexpected and disturbing occurrence to the building plans was the resignation of manager Paulus List in 1920, and the absence of an able and dedicated replacement. After a consideration of some ten names, several persons were approached but declined the position. Finally, an immigrant from Germany, Curt Etzold, was contacted. He was said to have been manager of several book concerns in Germany, and the

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[9] The permission was dated October 26, 1919, but was recorded in ibid., Chicago, Ill., August 27, 28, 1919, as Item 6.

[10] Meeting of the Finance Committee of the Board of Publication. (Minutes) August 28, 1919, Item 1.

[11] Protokoll der Versammlung des Publikationnskomitees. Chicago, Ill., August 27, 28, 1919, Items 10 and 14.

Board decided to try him out, offering him a $50 a week salary for the time being.

As Chicago presented difficulties for launching a building program due to high costs and labor unrest, Waverly, as a small town, seemed again the more attractive option. Thus, the move to Waverly and the consolidation of Wartburg Publishing House there was again taken up and debated. On November 4th, a new and unanimous decision was made to move the Wartburg Publishing House to Waverly, if a building site should be offered gratis by the Community Club of Waverly.[12]

Before long, a parcel of land on the corner of South Water and Ellsworth streets was offered by officials from Waverly.

The news about the move to Waverly stirred the minds and hearts of the constituents and letters of protest against the move began to arrive in the synodical offices. The president insisted upon a postponement of the move until the districts of the Iowa Synod could have a chance to express themselves. Seeing no progress in their effort to stall the relocation to Waverly, the opposition began agitating in the district conferences.

The district conferences participated vigorously in the debate about the move. Although the Board of Publication also had representatives in each conference to defend the Waverly decision, the general opinion polls taken indicated clearly that the majority of people in the Iowa Synod favored Chicago as center of the publishing activities. There were 400 votes cast for Chicago, 162 for Waverly, 68 for Dubuque, and

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[12] Minutes of the Board of Publication. Chicago, Ill., November 3, 4, 1920, Item 6.

2 for the Twin Cities.[13]

The majority of the Board of Publication resigned after the defeat, whereupon the president of the Synod appointed new members to the Board to carry out the consolidation move to Chicago.[14]

In view of the fact that the old Board resigned because of the forced Chicago issue, it is extremely puzzling that the new Board of Publication did not come out decisively in favor of the consolidation move to Chicago. One month after the election, the motion to consolidate the two departments of Wartburg Publishing House in Chicago had only three votes in favor and three votes against. The Chairman of the Board had to cast the decisive vote so the motion to move to Chicago carried.[15]

The indecision and the wavering between the two cities proved to be very costly. A series of demands, and even court suits for damages, by architects and contractors damaged the Wartburg Publishing House financially.[16]

As soon as the battle scars were healed and the situation permitted, the new Board began a building project of its own. Less ambitious than the previous attempts, this plan called only for an annex to the existing building on the property at 2018 Calumet. The preliminary plans estimated that a one-story annex with a basement would cost only

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[13] Ibid., Chicago, Ill., November 22, 1921, Item 10.

[14] Ibid., Chicago, Ill., October 31, 1921, Item 9.

[15] Ibid., Chicago, Ill., November 22, 1921, Item 12.

[16] Ibid., Chicago, Ill., November 28, 1922, Items 5, 6, and 7 and Minutes of the Finance Committee Chicago, Ill., May 2, 1921, Item 12.

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$45,000.[17] Because of humidity control problems, the plan was changed to a two-story annex. The work this time progressed rapidly; the building was started in May and finished in November, 1922.

The Wartburg Publishing House was finally consolidated. The equipment and stock from Waverly were moved to Chicago, and benefits of a streamlined organization were anticipated.

Unfortunately, another difficulty beset the Wartburg Publishing House. Even in 1920 when Curt Etzold was hired there were omens of some troubles. He had claimed to have had managerial experience in Germany, but was unable to substantiate his claims. The Board sensed the possible weak spots and requested the manager to be bonded. Etzold had difficulties in securing and in retaining a bond. On March 15, 1921, he was forced to resign as his bond was cancelled. A year later, he obtained bond from another company and was reconfirmed in his position as manager.[18] Although Etzold did not commit great errors in his management of the Wartburg Publishing House, neither did he exert strong leadership, and during the years of crises his name is seldom prominent in the records of events.

Perhaps because of a need to supplement his income, Etzold devised two questionable schemes and, in an attempt to carry them out, he was finally dismissed in 1925. Although the minutes on this subject are sparing, the schemes and the Board's reaction to them contain some dramatic and colorful elements which show how scandalous the event must

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[17] _Ibid._, _Minutes of the Board of Publication._ Chicago, Ill., May 9, 1922, Item 6.

[18] _Ibid._, Chicago, Ill., March 15, 1921, page 2 and March 21, 1922, Item 6.

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have appeared at the time. In the first scheme, Etzold solicited pastors and lay workers of congregations to sell, in mail-order-house-fashion, jewelry, watches, notions, and similar merchandise. He must have thought that pastors and church workers, being underpaid, could supplement their incomes through selling to a captive market, the congregations. On the other hand, the congregations would have confidence in their pastors and lay workers and so would buy freely.

Etzold solicited salesmen by means of an anonymous advertisement in the Kirchenzeitung, offering "handsome profits" and "bonus gifts" to the sales force.[19]

The second scheme would have endangered the Wartburg Publishing House directly, as Etzold intended to begin a rival firm. Etzold provided the Easter Catalog of Wartburg Publishing House (1925) with new covers on which he solicited patronage and announced the formation of a new Publishing Society, which would supply the needs of all congregations with books and other printed materials.[20] At a special meeting, the Board dismissed Etzold without delay, asking him to clear his desk and to deliver the keys at once.

The Rev. S. W. Fuchs, at the time the Chairman of the Board, was elected with a salary of $3750 per annum.[21] Fuchs had only five years to prove his leadership, prudence, and good sense of management. In 1930, the merger eliminated his position when Wartburg Publishing House became

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[19] Kirchenblatt, April 18, 1925, carried the advertisements with the captions "Dauernde Anstellung" and "Wunderbare Geschenke".

[20] Minutes of special meeting, Board of Publication, Chicago, Ill., April 20, 1925, Items 1-6.

[21] Minutes of the Board of Publication. Chicago, Ill., April 27, 1925, Item 11.

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a depository and bookstore in the newly merged Lutheran Book Concern.

The years 1917-1930 were years of indecision and of turmoil which, accompanied with financial problems, affected the book publishing of Wartburg Publishing House in many ways. The eight years until 1925 were lean in book production, mainly because of conflict and financial circumstances. The last four years were lean by habit and in anticipation of the merger. The only sustained and forceful book publishing effort, out of character with the general trend of Wartburg, was the dynamic authorship of Rev. Johann M. Reu. His authorship began before 1917, and he remained prolific after the merger of the Iowa Synod in 1930. As it will be seen below, this productivity was due more to the genius of Johann Michael Reu than to a vitality of the publishing program of the house.

The monographic publications, other than the titles by Reu, were few each year. The bulk of the production consists of routine materials needed by the pastors and congregations: tracts, pamphlets, greeting cards and letters, certificates and constitutions, and many other similar materials. The yearly publishing lists reported by the manager are very lengthy and the printed totals very impressive because of the listing of all ephemeral printed material. A confusing matter in the publishers' lists is the inclusion of reprinted titles. There are always more reprint titles than original editions in each year's list. The difficulty is aggravated when the title itself does not furnish any copyright or reprint date or when the imprint date is actually advanced and is changed to the date of the reprinting without any indications of a previous edition or an earlier date of publication. Another difficulty in surveying the publishing output of the Wartburg Publishing House is the fiscal year of the Iowa Synod. All managerial reports cover publishing activities from May 1st to April 30th. Thus, an item listed in these reports cannot be pinpointed to an exact year.

Just to show the idiosyncrasies of publishing and reporting and to give a sampling of titles produced, the Manager's Report 1916/17 is chosen.

The year 1916/17 in the publishing records of Wartburg Publishing House has a long list of publications with an impressive production total of more than a quarter million printed items.[22] Upon examination of the publishers' list, it is obvious that it contained three reprinted titles, *Handagende*, *Wartburg Fibel*, and *Wartburg Lesebuch No. 2*. More numerous were tracts and pamphlets which were also produced in greater quantities. Such were *Wartburg Seminary Souvenir*, *Tract on Sin*, *Seed Thoughts*, *Lutheranism*, *Interesting Information*, *Pastors Christmas Greetings*, *Pastors Easter Greetings*, *Zeugnis Karten*, *How Lutherans Keep Lent*, *Luther's Thesen*, *Go to Church*, *Efficient Congregations*, *Lent 1917*, *Konstitution fuer Jugendvereine*, and *Gemeinde Konstitution*. Also, the *Wartburg Kalender* listed was not a new title but an annual printed in 18,500 copies. Although the three reprinted titles amounted to only 7,000 copies, the tracts and pamphlets with the almanac totaled more than a quarter million copies. It is quite evident that the new titles for the year were few. An anonymous *Gerburtstag der Reformation* (B 289), printed in 5,000 copies, was one of these. This was a popular historical treatise on the Reformation, eulogizing Luther and his times. The other three new titles were all from Johann Michael Reu, *The Life of Martin*

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[22] The production records for the year list 24 titles totaling 283,500 copies of printed matter. Numbers totaled and obtained from Manager's Report for 1917/17. *Bericht der Geschaeftsfuehrung des Wartburg Publishing House fuer das Geschaeftsjahr Mai 1, 1917-Mai 1, 1918*, p. 11 (Mimeographed).

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Luther (B 1032), Das Leben Martin Luthers (B 1018b), and the Erklaerung des Katechismus Martin Luthers (B 1020a).

Excluding publications under fifty pages and those which are published in series, most of the items in the Wartburg Publishing House list 1916-17 had to be excluded. The noteworthy publishing output in 1916-17 of Wartburg Publishing House, therefore, was not the quarter million copies of the ephemera and the thousands of reprints, but only a few slender octavos in few thousand imprints each. These again were narrowly limited to the Reformation and Martin Luther and are typical of the tendency seen in Lutheran publishing lists of the time period.

The subsequent years were, likewise, lean. However, here and there were titles that should be mentioned because of some special significance. One such significant title around the turn of the decade was the Wartburg Hymnal (B 410). The editor, Professor O. Hardwig, had designed this hymnal for multipurpose uses in the English language, responding to the requests of the English-speaking constituents, especially the youth. The House anticipated an eager use of this hymnal as it ordered in the first printing 3800 copies of the music edition and 16,000 copies of the word edition.

It should be pointed out that, for full liturgical and worship use, the Ohio Synod had published in 1908 an Evangelical Lutheran Hymnal. The Ohio Synod had a strong English district and used this hymnal for its congregations.[23] It is strange that the Iowa Synod did not use this hymnal but published its own.

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[23] Evangelical Lutheran Hymnal (Columbus: Lutheran Book Concern, 1908), 66, 516, 2, 123 pp.

In the following year, another significant major publication was launched: a fully revised and reset liturgical manual in German for ministers. The *Agende fuer Christliche Gemeinden des Lutherischen Bekenntnisses* (B 672a) was first published by Wilhelm Loehe in 1844 and in the following forty years had three revised editions. The 1919 edition of Wartburg Publishing House was based on the 3rd German edition. It compiled a complete liturgy, prayers, and ministerial acts. A supplement provided the passion story selections in reading for the season of Lent. The *Agende* was perfectly designed and produced and superbly bound.

Not so spectacular, in fact, quite humble, are the devotionals produced about the same time for laymen. These small drab octavos are in strange contrast to the *Agende*. These publications were Habermann's *Morning and Evening Prayers* (B 374) and Hardwig's *Weine Nicht* (B 410). For worship purposes the House published, besides, some pamphlets in liturgy and new editions of *Das Wartburg Liederbuch*, *Missionsfest Lieder*, and Otto's *Lobsinget dem Herrn* (B 926).

In curriculum materials and theology, Johann Michael Reu dominated the lists from 1917 until 1930. As this dominance was sustained, it is important here to introduce Johann Michael Reu in the context of the publishing activities of the Iowa Synod. From 1917 all through the existence of the Synod, through the merger in the American Lutheran Church, until his death in 1943, Reu remained the leading writer of the church. He not only outdistanced others in the number of his publications, but also in expertise and scholarship. While his prolific output of monographs continued to appear, Reu was also prolific in journalism and served as editor and main contributor to *Kirchliche Zeitschrift* until his death. The most unusual aspect of Reu's literary talent was his ability to devote himself to diverse concerns simultaneously and with equal intensity, without a loss of literary quality. His genius was not so much creative as it was voluminous and encyclopedic. He was articulate, ambitious, and, above all, diligent, with a great capacity to endure. The record of his literary and scholarly work is almost unbelievable. And while being so productive in writing, he also taught. As a professor at the Wartburg Seminary in Dubuque, Iowa, Reu taught almost all subjects in the theological curriculum, including Greek and Hebrew.

During his lifetime, Reu published thirty-six books in English, thirty-one titles in German, including the nine-volume *magnum opus* *Quellen zur Geschichte des Kirchlichen Unterrichts im Evangelischen Deutschland Zwischen 1530-1600*. It should be stated, however, that all of the English titles were translations of his German books or manuscripts and that he did not speak or write perfect English.

While editor of the *Kirchliche Zeitschrift* from 1904-1943, he contributed twenty-five articles in Catechetics, twelve in Homiletics, twenty in Dogmatics, and over fifty articles in church history. In addition, he published 261 sermons or sermon sketches and 3,631 book reviews.[24]

Of course, Reu used shortcuts. The books he reviewed he also quoted in his research. His articles in periodicals became chapters of his books. He published basically the same material in various forms for a variety of readers and uses. In spite of this repetitiousness in certain fields, Reu never lost his audience, and the Wartburg Publishing House continued to find a market for his books.

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[24] Julius Bodensieck, in his article "Remember Your Teachers", *Quarterly of Wartburg Seminary Association* VII (December 15, 1943), p. 7-10, estimates that, in order to write these reviews, Reu must have read from 1900-1943 some 981 titles in exegetical theology, 1048 in history, 480 in systematic theology, and 1112 books in practical theology.

Johann Michael Reu was a Bavarian-born immigrant with little formal education. He had finished the Mission Seminary of Neuendettelsau after the Latin grammar school and had come to the U.S.A. in 1889, for the purposes of serving German immigrants as pastor. Later in life, he frequently regretted not having had a gymnasium education and his lack of a broad cultural background. But Reu did not stop with lamentations over lost opportunities. He was ambitious, eager to learn and to read. His scholarship and expertise was, therefore, self-taught. As if the writing and teaching was not enough activity, the restless and energetic Reu was also a frequent member of boards and commissions in the Iowa Synod and later in the American Lutheran Church. He even had time to participate in inter-denominational and ecumenical matters and was one of the representatives of American Lutherans at the Lutheran World Conventions, in 1923 to Eisenach, in 1929 to Copenhagen, and in 1935 to Paris.[25]

The literary career of Reu had its roots in his first pastorate in the United States in Rock Falls, Illinois. He served here for nine years (1890-99), preaching and teaching with great zeal and enthusiasm. The fruits of his ministry here resulted in his *Erklaerung des Kleinen Katechismus D. M. Luthers* (B 1020a) and his *Explanation of Luther's Small*

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[25] See the biography of Reu by A. Pilger, published in *Kirchliche Zeitschrift*, Reu Memorial Number (Columbus: Wartburg Press, 1945), especially pp. 32-34.

Catechism (B 1022), two confirmation textbooks which were adopted as the official catechisms of the Iowa Synod and later of the American Lutheran Church. The material in these catechisms was considered too difficult and too theoretical for students, besides they were in thetical form rather than question and answer form and so, perhaps, too theological. Pressures caused Reu to publish Erklaerung von Luther's Katechismus in Frage und Antwort (B 1021) and Luther's Small Catechism in Questions and Answers (B 1039). Another necessity felt in the church prompted him to provide a simple text of the catechism itself, published under the unassuming title Enchiridion (B 1020).

Reu's pastoral concern for preaching and sermon preparation during his nine years in the ministry found similar expression in book form in his Alttestamentliche Perikopen Vol. I (1901) and Vol. II (1903). This exegetical and homiletical reference tool for pastors was published in Germany by Bertelsmann and so also had European distribution. The value of this book was recognized more than fifty years later. It was translated and published in 1959 under the title Thomasius Old Testament Selections (B 1048).

While a minister at Rock Falls, Reu participated in pastoral conferences, read papers, and preached sermons, and even excelled in speaking "on the floor of the Synod",[26] where he was well-liked and respected by his ministerial brethren.

When a vacancy occurred in 1899 at the Wartburg Theological Seminary at Dubuque, Iowa, Reu was called to become a professor theology. Inasmuch as the seminary had only three professors, he had to teach almost every subject in the curriculum. Perhaps this was a providential necessity, for it forced the very gifted Reu to make preparations and follow research in all fields of theology, ethics, church history, homiletics, catechetics, and Biblical studies. This variety continued to be published as long as he taught, ending only with his death in 1943.

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[26] Ibid., p. 17.

Reu's first serious undertaking was built on his practical interest in catechetical instruction. Teaching his confirmands, he had used several catechisms and had intended to publish catechetical texts in the near future. Translating this interest into an academic pursuit, he wondered how many different catechisms there might have been and how they differed at the beginning of the Evangelical Lutheran Church in Germany. He tried to interest Bertelsmann, who had published his Alttestamentliche Perikopen, and succeeded in convincing him of the merits of such compilation, especially when he offered partially to subsidize the publication.

Reu, perhaps, was not aware at the beginning how enormous this undertaking would become. He set out to trace, retrieve, and copy early catechisms in archives and libraries of Germany and published the first volume in 1904 of his Quellen zur Geschichte des Kirchlichen Unterrichts im der evangelischen Kirche Deutschlands zwischen 1530-1600.

John Capar Mattes, in appraising the literary legacy of Reu, describes the ambitiousness of this project:

> The labor involved in its compilation was indeed prodigious. Begun in 1903 and completed in 1935 it fills eleven large octavo volumes that total 6481 pages. Quite naturally it necessitated a number of trips to Europe and involved an immense amount of painstaking labor, not only in the tedious work of transcription but particularly in searching out the forgotten and unknown sources. This work which involved research in 94 German libraries and 20 outside Germany,

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together with 19 archives was not in vain for a number of unknown sources were discovered and republished.[27]

It may seem that the effort of republishing old books without the ease of facsimile or the modern methods of photographic reproduction was futile and unnecessary. A later era would have provided the necessary techniques to do the immense job more easily and more adequately by facsimiles rather than by transcriptions. However, time and future research will tell how many of Reu's transcriptions were destroyed by World War II. The severe bombings of cities destroyed many libraries and archives; many were destroyed by ground forces and vandalism. It seems that the diligent efforts of Reu provided an immeasurable service to posterity through his eleven-volume magnum opus. Scholars in Europe acclaimed the publication with enthusiasm. After the appearance of the second volume, even the German Ministry of Education, upon the recommendation of Baron von Sternberg, the German Ambassador, contributed a considerable sum toward its continued publication. The rest was underwritten by the Society for the History of the Reformation, assuring an unhindered and regular publishing of the rest of the volumes. With the appearance of the third volume (1911), Reu could announce proudly the honor which the Theological Faculty of Erlangen had bestowed upon him the year before, the title of Doctor Theologiae, recognizing him as an outstanding research scholar.

The genius of Reu was manifest in the fact that out of the confines of classroom work, from simple outlines and lectures, he could produce respectable textbooks suitable for instruction in any theological school. His method is well described by Julius Bodensieck.

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[27] John Casper Mattes, "The Literary Legacy of Dr. M. Reu," Kirchliche Zeitschrift (Columbus: Wartburg Press, 1945), p. 105.

> Whenever a certain subject was assigned to him in the curriculum of the seminary, it was not long before a syllabus was written by him, the next time he taught the subject, he would write a detailed scriptum and after another revision the book was ready for the printer.[28]

The following year, or soon after, Reu had secured a translator and published an English version of the monograph for the English-speaking instructor and student of theology.

A publication to fit the description of Bodensieck was Katechetik oder die Lehre vom Kirchlichen Unterricht, first published in 1915, with the second edition appearing in 1918. The English translation by C. B. Gohdes appeared in 1918 as Catechetics or Theory and Practise [sic] of Religious Instruction (B 1012).

Christliche Ethic in Kurzer Skizzierung (B 1015) also originated from lecture notes. Indeed, the first edition was called a manuscript edition and was printed in small quantities on poor paper for classroom distribution in 1914. The imprint assigned the publishing to Wartburg Seminary, which remained also on the title page for the second edition in 1922. The English translation at the time was available only in mimeographed form. This translation was done by Pastors E. Karsten and K. Weltner. Years later, the Christliche Ethik was reworked and supplemented by Paul H. Buehring. Buehring not only translated Reu's text, but added his own section on social ethics, and he also provided the index; thus, in 1935, when Christian Ethics appeared, the title was attributed both to Reu and Buehring as co-authors (B 1013).

Some of Reu's outlines and lectures notes in the German language remained in mimeographed form; some were translated and produced in mimeographed form.. A few of the mimeographed texts were later published in book form. One such was Homiletics, A Manual of the Theory and Practice of Preaching (B 1025). The second edition (1924) of this text was copyrighted two years later, and went through repeated editions (1927, 1936, 1944), culminating in 1950 as a new edition, published by Augsburg Publishing House. The translation of this title into English was done by Albert Steinhaeuser.

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[28] A. Pilger, "Johann Michael Reu," Kirchliche Zeitschrift (Columbus: Wartburg Press, 1945), pp. 30-31.

In the effort to reach various publics and markets, Reu, at times, spawned a number of titles which, in essence, were one and the same. Reu completed in October 1916 the biography of Luther in German entitled Dr. Martin Luther's Leben, Fuer unsere Jugendvereine skizziert und mit Anweisungen zu gemeinsamer Besprechung versehen (B 1018c). This book has a 1917 imprint date. With the same imprint date another Dr. Martin Luther's Leben was published with the subtitle: Fuer die reifere Jugend und das Christliche Haus (B 1018b). According to the subtitles, then, the first book was aimed at youth organizations and discussion meetings. This 210-page monograph was printed on cheap thin paper in small fraktur type, came in small octavo size and was priced at fifty cents with a hard cover. The second title used the same text verbatim; however, instead of the discussion apparatus, it included ninety-two illustrations with a total of 283 pages. This title was printed on good stock in large fraktur type, with decorative elements on each page. The price of the deep red hard cover book was $1.25. The marketing was aimed at a more adult youth and the Christian home on the occasion of the 400th anniversary of the Reformation.

In 1917, translated by P. E. H. Rausch, the D. Martin Luther's Leben appeared in the English language as Life of Luther for Young People's Societies in 160 pages (B 1033) and Life of Luther for The

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Christian Home in 287 pages (B 1032). These were very similar in makeup to the German titles and had identical price ranges. The young people's editions in German and in English were sold also in editions of two parts. Thus, a general reference to Reu's work on Luther's life could mean a variety of four different bibliographic identities, in content alike but as monographs distinctly different.

Of the more scholarly and respectable publications of Reu, *D. Martin Luthers Kleiner Katechismus, Die Geschichte seiner Entstehung, seiner Verbreitung und seines Gebrauchs* is perhaps one of the best known. It was published as a *Jubelsaeumschrift* to celebrate the 400th year of Luther's *Small Catechism* in 1929, and it was dedicated to the Lutheran World Convention, which met the same year in Copenhagen. The publisher was Ch. Kaiser in Munich. It was not a completely original publication, since parts of this book had appeared previously in Reu's *Katechetik* (B 1029a) and in the *Lutheran World Almanac of 1928*.

The English translation of the book was published in the same year by Wartburg Publishing House. The translation was done by Hans Groth (Chapters 6, 13, and 14); G. O. Hersberg (indexes) and John C. Mattes. Mattes was the chief translator editing Reu's own translations and coordinating other translators.

This English edition: *Dr. Martin Luther's Small Catechism A History of the Origin, Its Description and Its Use* (B 1018d) was abbreviated to some extent and expanded in some ways. It lacked the survey of catechetical instruction in Germany, but had added features on the Latin translations, the English translations of Luther's *Small Catechism*, the explanations of the catechism of the 16th and 17th centuries, and some other additions and improvements.

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Another significant and scholarly book of Reu was Luther's German Bible (B 1037). This book was considered by church historians and biblical scholars, according to advertising statements in catalogs, as the most competent presentation of the subject in existence. It may have been such, because of a scarcity of publications on the subject. However, even a casual perusal of the book shows its scholarship and thoroughness. Aside from the history of the German Bible, the book also provided comparative texts of various German versions of the Bible. The content ranged historically from the Middle Ages to the days of Luther, and it thoroughly developed the general background of the person and work of Luther as a translator of the Bible. The actual text of this book was contained in 284 pages. The resource apparatus of footnotes comprised seventy-seven pages, but the source materials appended took a copious 217 pages. Although Luther's German Bible was never published in German, the manuscript was written in German and was translated into English. This was done again by John C. Mattes, to whom Reu gratefully dedicated the book. Several other translators had assisted in translating the notes and appendices, according to the preface.

A similar compilation with a similar research and resource aim was Augsburg Confession (B 1005). This book provided a historical account of the genesis of the document, but the bulk was a collection of sources. This title also had copious notes giving references to citations made in the historical introduction and contained thorough bibliographies in each area or subject under discussion to 1930.

The second part covered sixty-one items of source material, from letters to discourses and articles, most of them translated from the German or Latin originals by a group of associates. The key part of the sources was the Augsburg Confession itself, printed in four parallel columns giving four textual versions of the document.

The Augsburg Confession was published for the quadri-centennial celebration of this important Lutheran confessional document, which originated in 1530 when a group of cities and states with their rulers declared to the Emperor Charles V and the Reichstag at Augsburg their protestant religious beliefs and practice. This Augsburg Confession of Reu was the last major publication under the auspices of the Wartburg Publishing House of Chicago, as in this year (1930) this house and the Lutheran Book Concern became one new publishing facility of the newly formed American Lutheran Church. Contemporary reviews and discussion of the book give an impression that Reu's work was a scholarly and important contribution to Reformation history.

Before going to the more popular and outright Sunday School oriented publications, another scholarly treatise should be mentioned: Thirty-Five Years of Luther Research (B 1047).

Thirty-Five Years of Luther Research was, like the others of this group, a quadri-centennial publication celebrating the disclosure of the ninety-five theses by Luther. Much of the content had appeared in the Lutheran Church Review; however, the chapters "Luther and the Scriptures", "Luther and the German Language", and "Luther and England" were new. Also, the chapter "Rome's Procedure Against Luther" enlarged the previously published periodical article.[29] The Thirty-Five Years of Luther Research was a timely survey of the status of historical research up to 1917.

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[29] In the Foreword of Johann Michael Reu, Thirty-Five Years of Luther Research (Chicago: Wartburg Publishing House, 1917).

The largest group of books which predominates the bibliography of Reu is the parish education curricula. Most of them were published in series as Wartburg Lehrmittel and as Wartburg Lesson Helps, but many of the titles were published as practical and methodological monographic helps to the teacher or as manuals for adults wishing to learn or to teach Biblical and doctrinal truths.

The earliest of these curriculum materials was the German series Wartburg Lehrmittel fuer Lutherische Sonntagsschulen in eight volumes. The original series was published from 1911-1917, but the titles were kept in print for many years. Even after the American Lutheran Church came into existence (1931), and Wartburg Publishing House published its last catalog, these Wartburg Lehrmittel series were still listed as being in print, together with the English Wartburg Lesson Helps in seven volumes.

The first title in two volumes was Reu's How I Tell the Bible Story to My Sunday School (B 1026). Both volumes together covered 104 Bible stories in the order they appeared in the Wartburg Lesson Helps. The narrative was replete with paraphrased Bible passages admixed with a sprinkling of references from situations of life and garnished with admonitions and questions.

The original English translation was made by Herman Brueckner, but in the following editions it was revised by O. Graf and R. Schlueter.

The second title How to Discuss the Story (B 1027) was published in four volumes in 1940. It covered the same 104 Bible stories in the Wartburg Lesson Helps and followed the same paths as How I Tell the Bible Stories to My Sunday School in systematically enlarging upon the Biblical text. The four volumes were divided into Junior I and II and

Intermediate I and II grades, all rather heavy volumes. Each discussion unit began with a reading assignment of a specific text and was followed by lengthy "Explanatory Remarks" sections. Although dwelling upon the Bible, each narrative was interpretative in nature and was followed by another assignment to read the corresponding section in the How I Tell the Bible Stories. The unit was concluded with a great number of questions with short answers. Neither the questions nor the answers went deeper than the surface, although they provided some theological and moral lessons derived from the narrative.

The third and last title for teachers to win acceptance was How to Teach in the Sunday School (B 1028). If the other material was basically a compilation of paraphrased and amplified Bible stories, How to Teach was a systematic introduction in the methodology, psychology, history, and management of Sunday Schools. Although the bulk of the content covered the broader aspects of teaching various age groups, Reu managed to be lavish with storytelling examples for each age group and spent 135 pages of the 576-page volume on the topics: how to tell, how to discuss, how to apply, and how to review stories. Reu managed even to feature another of his special fields, namely, catechism and catechetical instruction, in the concluding chapters. Although How to Teach appeared in book form in 1939, serially published sections of How to Teach appeared from 1933-35 under the title Teachers' Training Quarterly, to which teachers could subscribe together with the other Wartburg Lesson Helps. The bound quarterlies (not reprinted) appeared also on the market as Sunday School Teachers Training Course until 1939, when How to Teach in the Sunday School appeared. There are occasional corrections and changes in the texts of the two titles; otherwise, the contents are identical.

Other books by Reu to be mentioned are those for Bible classes. For the Old Testament, Reu published The Book of Books I (B 1008) and for the New Testament The Book of Books II (B 1009). The purpose of these two volumes was to introduce the reader to the origin, the contents, the historical period, and the ideas presented in each book of the Old and New Testaments. They were meant to be used by the reader in private study, by adult Bible classes, by religion classes in academies and colleges, and as a reference tool of preparation for lay instructors. Like all other books Reu wrote, the manuscripts for the above titles were in German and several of his close associates, most of them pastors, translated them into English.[30]

Book of Books I and II were quite popular as curriculum materials and had several reprints. In one reprint, both volumes were bound together and were sold as a combined edition for a lower price. This combined edition was a heavy volume of 458 pages.

The parish education curriculum of the Lutheran church has usually had strong catechetical emphasis built on the sacraments and the Lord's Prayer, but it has also always had an emphasis on Biblical history. Thus, aside from the catechism, Lutheran Sunday Schools usually needed a textbook in Biblical history. The aim of such texts, as a rule, has been to acquaint and introduce the student to the contents of the Bible and to familiarize him with Biblical personalities.

Reu contributed to parish education a formal Biblical History for School and Home (B 1006). The success of this title and its acceptance by the churches was spectacular; even at the time of the merger in 1960, this title was still in print unrevised, although it was copyrighted anew. The translation into English of the popular text was done by Herman Brueckner.

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[30] Johann Michael Reu, The Book of Books II (Chicago: Wartburg Publishing House, 1932), p. vii.

A more sophisticated volume, but with essentially the same goals as the Biblical History of 1918, was Book of Life I, published in 1921. This Book of Life I was to have had sequels II and III which were never published. This title was in essence an outline of Biblical history with minute cross references to the Biblical text. It also gave some introductory comment on each book of the Bible as a setting for the narrative.

Reu authorized another curriculum title for adults, Lutheran Faith and Life (B 1036) in 1935. This book was intended to provide a good manual for membership instruction. He succeeded well with the help of Pastor W. Flachmeier, who edited the author's English language. The title was so well-received that in 1953, by permission of Wartburg Press, Samuel F. Salzmann published a revision of the work edited by Arnold H. Jahr under a new title Christian Faith and Life (B 1014).

Aside from the many curriculum materials listed above, Reu wrote and disseminated a number of teaching materials on certain topics on which he was an authority or about which he was deeply concerned. These topical teaching materials originated in some other form, either as an article, a paper, or a lecture. Presumably for the purpose of extending the use of this material for classes or discussion groups, Reu ordered the Wartburg Publishing House and the Wartburg Press to reprint them in few hundred copies. These printouts were slender, fifty to eighty page octavo pamphlets, bound in colored paper and frequently retaining the original pagination if the article was taken from a periodical. Most of

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these paperbound pamphlets dealt with important theological issues or problems. The unifying element for some of them was the make-up of the cover and the humble subtitle Eine Dogmatische Skizze. But others varied in make-up and in design. There is no complete list of these publications; however, Burritt's bibliography lists most of them.[31]

Some of these shorter essays were polished and brilliant masterpieces of theology,[32] and some of them remained relevant even after twenty years and thus were republished (B 1051).

The lengthy record of Reu's monographic publications cannot be complete without mentioning a last popular title, which first appeared early in serial form but late in 1921 was published in book form. Although it was a product of the middle part of Reu's literary career, it is mentioned here due to its atypical nature. This publication, Topics for Young Peoples Societies (B 1049), attempted to provide discussion and program material for young people or Luther League meetings. Although the programs dealt with central religious topics, they were more broadly conceived and less formal than other writings of Reu. The English translation was well done by C. G. Prottengeier.

It is evident from the above survey of the literary activities of Reu that his intensive authorship was one of the most striking features of the Wartburg Publishing House during the years from 1917-1929. Reu's prolific output forced the Wartburg Publishing House to exceed its normal capacity and to yield to his ambitious requests. It can be conjectured safely that due to the number of contributions from Reu, the works of other authors stood little chance of publication. Reu was not only a giant preempting the theological and ecclesiastical domain of the Iowa Synod alone; he was a dominant literary figure in American Lutheranism. Although it is hard to measure the influence and literary quality of theological writing, we can assert that within the fifty-year history of Lutheran publishing from 1917-67, there has been no one to match his literary legacy.

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[31] Burritt, John K. A., A Bibliography of the Writings of Johann Michael Reu 1869-1943 (Dubuque: Wartburg Theological Seminary, 1969), seriatim.

[32] Such was, for example, Reu's The Church and the Social Problem (B 1016), a lecture he delivered at the Lutheran World Convention in Paris, 1935. The 46-page pamphlet was published in 1936 by the Lutheran Book Concern.

At times, Reu dealt rather harshly with the managers of Wartburg Publishing House; he reproved them when he felt it was necessary and, on occasion, threatened to have his books published elsewhere. The house and the Board of Publications in most instances obliged "the Doctor", as he was called, and faithfully continued to publish all of his manuscripts in the manner specified.

A perusal of the correspondence between Reu and the house shows clearly that it was not the house who prodded, directed, and promoted Reu. It was, rather, the dynamic and creative Reu who used the Wartburg Publishing House and later the Wartburg Press as a vehicle of his talent and ambition. Considering its problems, Wartburg Publishing House was in no position to plan and implement a dynamic program. As a divided house that was financially poor and quite unsure about its future, it seemed to be a ready tool for the forceful and ambitious Reu. As editor of the Kirchliche Zeitschrift, he had a ready forum for partial or experimental forms of his later publications. He had also obtained respect and allegiance from a circle of readers who were also customers of the house as pastors and teachers of the synod. In addition, the authority of Reu was established among the ministers through his seminary teaching and through his associations with the synodical officers and leaders, who, for the most part, were his colleagues or his former students.

Besides Reu's publications, the Iowa Synod had but a few noteworthy monographs published during the twenties. One of these was *Sonne und Schield* by A. Pilger (B 951). Pastor Pilger was a member of the Board of Publishing and was asked to write the devotional in 1918. He took great pride in this assignment, and spent almost two years' time in writing it. In 1920, *Sonne und Schield* came out as an oversize octavo in 3,000 copies. The volume was attractively designed and bound in leatherette. *Sonne und Schield* was a devotional of morning prayers; all prayers were based on scripture and planned for about four minutes' reading time each.

Another successful publication, in terms of quality and distribution, was Augustin's *In the Master's Vineyard* (B 47). It was first published in Germany with the title *Ernste und Heitere Bilder aus einem Deutsch-Amerikanischen Pastorenleben*. The title was as unusual as it was entertaining and humorous. Indeed, the sale of the German edition was exceptionally large, and the reviews by the religious press very complimentary. Pastor H. Brueckner of Iowa City was asked to translate the book, and, in 1923, the English edition appeared in print. It was bound in brown leatherette, like the *Sonne und Schield*, and sold for the same price ($1.25), entitled *In the Master's Vineyard* (B 47).

Another title published in 1929 also deserves our attention. In the tradition of the Iowa Synod, the Lutheran communicant was to have a thorough preparation before partaking of the Lord's Supper. Thus, in the

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past, the Synod had used communicant handbooks written by Lutz and Loehe.[33] These had been out of print for some time and no new edition seemed to be advisable because of the transition to the English language. Johannes Becker, Professor at Wartburg Normal College at Waverly, was asked to produce such a title in English. Becker did not write much original and creative material. He translated, borrowed material from other books (as stated in the preface), and reprinted many psalms and hymns. The title Holy Communion (B 67) met the need adequately. The attractive handbook also sold well in the merged church after 1930.

As the time of the Merger of 1930 approached, the Iowa Synod became more introspective as well as retrospective. Books appeared which surveyed historically the synod's heritage, beliefs, and activities. Here should be mentioned Zeilinger's A Missionary Synod with a Mission (B 1380), F. Braun's Geschichte der Ev. Luth. Synode von Iowa und anderen Staaten (B 115a), and George J. Fritschel's Aus den Tagen der Vaeter(B 279).

Although few books were new additions to the publisher's list of the 1920's aside from Reu's titles, the Wartburg Publishing House consistently kept the old publications in print. Some of these were selling well and richly deserved their place in the sales catalog. Such were Loehe's Seedgrains of Prayer and Samenkoerner des Gebets (B 674a and b), the English and the German editions of the same title. Other titles, for example, Loehe's Agende, did not sell as well, causing the publisher strong concern. Indeed, all German books, including curriculum materials, had decreasing sales, as the German language was rapidly being replaced by English in this decade. Book production, however, did not follow this trend. German language titles were still published and, of course, former publications were carried in stock in case of increased demand. At times, Wartburg Publishing House tried to devise means of selling out surplus stock.[34] At the time of the merger in 1930, the Wartburg Publishing House had forty-five titles in English and ten curriculum books in stock. At the same time, the catalog listed sixty-seven books in German, but only nine titles in the curriculum line. The same was true of publications of less than fifty pages, cards, and ephemera. The German predominated everywhere except in Sunday School materials, where the English kept pace with the German publications.[35]

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[33] The preface of Holy Communion by Johannes Becker (B 67) names these two titles: Friedrich Lutz, Beicht und Kommunion Buch fuer evangelisch Luthersche Christen, and Wilhelm Loehe, Beicht und Kommunionbuechlein.

The Wartburg Publishing House did not go entirely out of existence at the time of the merger. Legally it remained alive for quite a number of years. Reprints and even some new publications were published by the merged publishing concern under the imprint of Wartburg Publishing House. It is interesting to note the lingering of the names of the original publishing houses within the merged church. Henry Young's *The Promises of God* (B 1376) displayed on its jacket the names of the Lutheran Book Concern, the Wartburg Publishing House, and the Wartburg Press.

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[34] The Board of Publications minutes of June 3, 1924, report that the *Agende* published in 1919 was still $1736.20 in the red. Wartburg Publishing House printing costs were $2026.45. The Board of Publications suggested contacts with German colonists in Russia or selling the books to the Committee of European Relief. These ideas did not materialize. Another method of moving the stock was to give an insert gratis, namely, the English Common Service, so that ministers could use the stately volume also for English language services.

[35] Wartburg Publishing House, *Abridged Catalog of Our Own Publications* (Chicago: Wartburg Publishing House, 1930).

The Wartburg Publishing House remained a legal entity in dealing with authors and other publishers, concerning all of its former publications.

In spite of its inner turmoil, its expenditures for building and relocation, and the difficult times of the depression in the late 1920's, the Wartburg Publishing House was financially solvent at the time of the merger. Its steady growth in size is seen in the growing operating budgets and assets. In 1916-17, the operating budget was $111,695; by 1920-21 it had grown to $176,371, with the assets increasing during the same period from $129,000 to $170,153. After liquidating the building indebtedness and squaring away other current and accrued liabilities, the net worth of Wartburg Publishing House was $210,908,[36] which was turned over as assets to the new publishing concern. The building at 2018 Calumet was now owned by the American Lutheran Church and served as a branch and sales outlet some fourteen years. Because of difficulties in staffing and a poor location for retail sales, this branch was not profitable and it was sold in 1944.[37]

3. The Lutheran Book Concern of Columbus, Ohio

Although the history of the Joint Synod of Ohio covers almost a century before the beginning year of this study (1818), its publishing ventures began only in 1880. Before this time, the Ohio Synod used commercial publishers to print and publish its papers and books, or used materials already published by other church publishers.

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[36] Final Report, Wartburg Publishing House submitted by S. W. Fuchs, n.d. 2 pp. Archives Collection, Augsburg Publishing House (mimeographed).

[37] Mimeographed letter by S. C. Michelfelder, Secretary of the Board of Publication of the ALC to all pastors, dated April 28, 1944. Archives Collection, Augsburg Publishing House.

In 1878, however, the Synod decided to begin a publishing house of its own and appointed a committee to raise money. Although the ingathering was unsuccessful, on November 8, 1880, the Board of Publication was created, and the Synod decided to call the new enterprise the Lutheran Book Concern. It consisted of a printing establishment, publishing offices, and a bookstore, all located in the Westbote Building, South High Street, between Town and State streets, Columbus, Ohio.[38] The business prospered and the volume of publications, both periodical and monographic, forced the concern to expand. In 1892, property was bought at 57 Main Street, on which, the following year, a building was erected that, together with the existing buildings, more than accommodated the Lutheran Book Concern and even provided for some rental income.

The new building and its furnishing caused the concern to go deeply in debt. The $60,000 borrowed, however, was not the end of borrowing. Hard times and unwise management from 1893-99 caused this debt to increase to $81,730. A change of management, and an improvement of general economic conditions during the turn of the century, reversed the trend, and the new manager F. J. Heer could report, at the end of his seven-year administration, the reduction of debt to $23,768.[39]

A significant decision by the Joint Synod of Ohio in 1907 was the choice of A. H. Dornbirer as manager. Under his leadership, the concern showed continuous financial improvement.

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[38] A detailed report on the beginnings of the Lutheran Book Concern and its development was written by the retiring manager A. H. Dornbirer. The undated manuscript has 47 pages and provides, together with anecdotes and book lists, a good amount of otherwise unrecorded historical information. The report is located in the Archives of Augsburg Publishing House. A. H. Dornbirer, History of the Lutheran Book Concern, unpublished manuscript, Archives Collection, Augsburg Publishing House , p. 2.

[39] Ibid., pp. 7-9.

The new manager, A. H. Dornbirer, was not a printer by trade as his predecessors had been. He had a theological education and had served as pastor until a throat ailment disqualified him from preaching. In his report, Dornbirer tells that the throat impairment had been only temporary, but that his real motivation was to serve the church at large.[40]

The determination and the idealism of Dornbirer can be seen in his persistent, patient, and lengthy effort to make the concern succeed. Dornbirer remained as manager after the merger of the new Wartburg Press until his retirement in 1940.

At the beginning of his publishing career, Dornbirer established a distributing branch and bookstore in Winnipeg, Canada, eased the discontent of his church clientele, got the business out of debt, and established new markets in areas which had previously been unwisely assigned to other distributors.[41]

The earlier years of Dornbirer's management, although showing a marked financial change, did not bring drastic changes in publishing policy. Before Dornbirer's administration, the published titles with one exception were strictly textbooks for Biblical and catechetical instruction. The only change during Dornbirer's first few years was in starting to publish tracts, according to a decision by the Board of Publication in 1912. This policy was soon discontinued because of lack of demand for these matters in the congregations.

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[40] Ibid., p. 20.

[41] Ibid., pp. 23, 28.

In 1914-16, a demand arose for juvenile fiction. According to Dornbirer, as early as 1880 "many Lutheran parish and Sunday Schools engaged in the laudable practice of giving books to their pupils at Christmas time."[42] By 1914, the trend was remarkable and the juvenile book business was "amounting to a large volume of business with Lutheran publication houses in the Mid-West."[43] Until then, the bulk of the demand was satisfied through German imports. Importations from Germany were no longer possible by the middle of 1916 due to the developments of World War I. In this situation, Dornbirer, encouraged by other Lutheran publishing houses, ventured into the production of juvenile fiction. In his own words:

> Shortly thereafter (1916) four Lutheran publication houses, which were large users of juveniles, suggested that the Book Concern should go more extensively into the production of story books for children and assured us of their patronage. We decided to do so, and for upwards of more than twenty years enjoyed an ever increasing wholesale business for children and for young people. Much of the time during these years the annual output was from eighty to ninety thousand copies sold mostly to Lutheran houses and a large number of publication houses of other denominations.[44]

Thus, beginning in 1917, the Lutheran Book Concern published yearly juvenile fiction. In examining the multitude of these lists it is evident that these titles had little to do with parish education or Sunday School programs. Although many of these novels and stories had a moral tone and may have served to some extent as auxiliary reading in teaching, their main purpose seems to have been recreational reading; the market for these titles was the Christian home.

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[42] Ibid., p. 29.

[43] Ibid., p. 29.

[44] Ibid., pp. 29, 30.

For some twenty years, the Lutheran Book Concern was the dominant producer among the Lutheran church related publishers and one of the leading publishers of juvenile fiction among the Protestant publishing houses. Dornbirer may have exaggerated this prominence somewhat when he said:

> During those twenty years we were the only denominational house engaged extensively in the production of story books for children of all ages. Since then quite a number of publishers of religious material are annually producing a variety of good children's books.[45]

Dornbirer indicated, also, the interfering circumstances and reasons for the discontinuations of these publications:

> Due partly to the depression and partly to numerous novelties which at that time came on the market and which sold at prices below those of story books, the sale for the latter began to decline toward the end of the nineteen thirties. World War II brought also on such excessively high production costs that it was decided to discontinue the publishing of children's story books.[46]

The variety of titles in this field was great, but equally surprising was the volume of production. The average book for synodical consumption was printed in a few thousand copies and, when sales demanded, additional thousands were printed in succeeding years. The story books, however, the Lutheran Book Concern printed, at times, in eighty to ninety thousand copy imprints.[47] It is rather obvious that such a brisk publishing market gave visible financial benefits to the Concern; besides clearing indebtedness and making possible the expansion of the physical plant, it gave the Concern a net gain of $445,385 between 1914-1930.[48]

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[45] Ibid., p. 30.

[46] Ibid., p. 30.

[47] Ibid., p. 30.

[48] Ibid., pp. 33, 39.

Generous contributions were made to the Ohio Synod from this profit. During the period, 1914-1930, some $142,785 was given to the general treasury, the Board of Aids, home missions, and the Capital University German Professorship Endowment Fund.

The array of books published by the Lutheran Book Concern was numerically greater and more diversified in subject matter than the book output of Wartburg Publishing House. There was also a greater variety of writers at work, because the concern had no one with the stature and influence of Reu to dominate the publishing scene.

At the outset of the coverage of this study in 1917, the Lutheran Book Concern published, among less than a dozen new monographs, three of the lighter variety: Walking Trips in Norway (B 1311) by Tjernagel, Waldemar's Kinderjahre (B 699) by Lorenzen, and Der Herr ist Gott (B 1120) by William Schmidt.

Nehemias Tjernagel was known to Norwegian circles as the author of a previous travelogue: Fodture i Aegypten og Palaestina, published in 1897 in Randall, Iowa, by the author. This title was generally recognized among the Norwegians as being well written, so, in 1919, Augsburg Publishing House published another edition with a similar title, Fotturer i Aegypten og Palaestina (B 1310).[49] Tjernagel was known also to the English readers with his Paragraphs of a Pedestrian.[50] Thus, Walking Trips in Norway was published with an eye to a non-German and a somewhat wider readership.

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[49] The Library of Congress Catalog of Printed Cards entry indicates that the six first chapters of this book were printed earlier in article form in the Midland Monthly Magazine.

[50] This autobiographical travelogue was published privately and printed by Mohn Printing Company in Northfield, Minnesota, in 1913.

The two other lighter titles were in German. Lorenzen was an author of German juvenile fiction and German readers. It is difficult to say whether *Waldemars Kinderjahre* was one of his earlier or later works, as three of this works are without publishing dates.[51] Two years later another Lorenzen book, *Strandgut-Gottesgut* (B 698), was added to the German book list of the Lutheran Book Concern.

With the novel *Der Herr ist Gott* (B 1120), the Lutheran Book Concern continued the series of novels which, by 1917, had become almost a publishing tradition. The 1924 catalog of the concern unofficially assigned the titles to a section called the *Schmidt Series,* although the titles themselves do not contain such a series title.[52]

Peter Henry William Schmidt (1855-1931), who wrote under the pen name William Schmidt, was a clergyman and professor with a flair for writing historical novels. All of his works tended to be sentimental and romantic with stereotyped plots and characters and with virtues extolled and vices villified. The Germans in these stories possessed superior traits; Christians and Lutherans were perfect. Frequent didactic or moralistic remarks embellished the narratives, and at times the author's viewpoint was expounded in adjectives and descriptive phrases making the novel rather artificial and awkward.

Although his novels were many and were published over a span of thirty-one years in German and English, William Schmidt is virtually

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[51] These are *Deutsche Fibel* (B 697a), *Ole und Klaus* (B 697b), and *Zeitvertreib*--a 32-page publication not included in our bibliography.

[52] Lutheran Book Concern, *Catalog of Lutheran Book Concern 1924* (Columbus: Lutheran Book Concern, 1924), p. 264.

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unknown to the non-Lutheran literary world. His name is not listed in general biographical directories, nor do his works appear in standard bibliographies of historical fiction.

Before *Der Herr ist Gott* appeared in 1917, Schmidt had authored seven novels and two of these had already been translated and published in English.[53] Schmidt had also received some attention in Germany, where four of his novels were published in new editions.[54] The setting in each of Schmidt's novels was chosen from a well-known historical epoch and some aspect of that period was expressed in the subtitle. Thus, for example, *Landolf* (B 1120a) was subtitled "the Soldier with the bloody Cross, a story from the time of Kaiser Otto the Great" (der Krieger mit dem blutigen Kreuz ; Erzaehlung aus der Zeit Kaiser Ottos des Grossen). *Christ conquers* (B 1116) was subtitled "a story of the persecutions in the second Christian century", *Sighardus* told of "the Centurion who stood at the cross" (der Hauptmann der beim Kreuze stand), and *Der Herr ist Gott* featured "a story from the times of the prophet Jonas."

Among the publications of 1917, three books merit special attention as those dealt with theology and, therefore, were probably published without a profit. These three titles were mainly of interest to

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[53] There were: *Aethelburga* (B 1112), *Sieghardus* (B 1122), *Sri Ramuldu* (B 1122a), *Sternenauge* (Ensslin und Leiblin, publ.), *Landolf* (B 1120a), *Durch Luther befreit* (B 1117), and *Die Goldene Quelle* (B 1119); the translations were *Sieghard* (B 1121a) and *The Golden Fountain* (B 1118a).

[54] *Sri Ramuldu* was published in Konstanz, Zuerich, by Chistlicher Buch and Kunstverlag C. Hirsch in 1905. *Landolf* was published in Hermannsburg by Die Missionshandlung in 1910. *Sternenauge* was published in Reutlingen by Ensslin & Leiblin in 1908. *Durch Luther Befreit* was published in Konstanz by the Christlicher Buch and Kunstverlag C. Hirsch, 1914.

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seminarians and ministers who could use them in study, sermon preparation, or teaching. From these three, the bulkiest was Golladay's The Apostle's Creed, a collection of sermons (B 328), and the most scholarly, Neve's Introduction to the Symbolic Books (B 885). Schodde's Outlines of Biblical Hermeneutics (B 1131) was perhaps the most practical title for the parish pastor of these three.

The congregations were also in need of popular theology and lighter material for teaching and discussion. The demand for the practical and lighter material is well exemplified in Sheatsley's To My Sunday School Teachers (B 1229), which had its seventh printing in 1917. New in the lighter kind of theology was J. Sheatsley's The Pope's Catechism (B 1226) and a handbook for Sunday School Teachers, Junior Teachers Guide (B 1223), by the same author. All three titles were intended to improve instruction in Sunday School classes or to aid discussion groups.

In response to contemporary problems, the Ohio Synod published two pamphlets for informal discussion. The more extensive of these two was E. Cronenwett's Church, State and Drink Traffic (B 195) and J. Sheatsley's The Gift of Healing. The latter, a thirty-two page pamphlet, was directed against the teachings of Christian Science and the faith healing practices common in some Protestant churches.

A similar pattern of publication was continued faithfully in the following year. In 1918, the list included three fiction titles: Antonia (B 134), Boy of the Parsonage (B 710), and Star Eye (B 1123). The last was a translation of Schmidt's Sternenauge. After Star Eye, Schmidt continued with several other historical novels such as Ben Juda, der Hirt (B 1113) and its translation Ben Juda, the Shepherd (B 1114), Die Botschaft des Koenigs (B 1115), Christ Conquers (B 1116), Durch

Luther Befreit (B 1117), and its translation Through Luther to Liberty (B 1124), Friedensklaenge (B 1118), Panthersprung (B 1121), Unter dem Banner des Schneekoenigs (B 1126), and its translation Under the Banner of the Snow King (B 1125). Altogether, including translations, Schmidt authored nineteen titles of historical fiction.

Two practical and popular titles of non-fiction were on the 1918 list. Schuh's Enjoying Church Work (B 1189) was directed toward lay activity, and J. Sheatsley's A Guide to the Study of the Bible (B 1218) and aimed to assist Biblical study and teaching in the congregations.

Another practical and helpful handbook, though more for sermon preparation and, hence, aimed at the clergy, was Stellhorn's The Epistle of St. Paul to the Romans (B 1262). The Epistle to the Romans, with its atonement theory, has continuously captivated Lutherans; hence, it is not surprising to find a separately published exegetical work on this book of the Bible.

An additional title of this year merits comment, not because of its excellence, but because of its author's viewpoint and his persistence in defending conservative Lutheran teachings against the inroads of modernism on college campuses. In 1918, William Schoeler published his naive and shallow Prophecy and Fulfillment; or the Word Proven True (B 1136), opening the door to scores of similar publications. Among the most objectionable of his works, especially from the present day viewpoint, was his attack on the evolution theory with his The Truth about Evolution (B 1139) and The Lie of the Age (B 1134). The last title was a moralistic novel, containing strong advocacy of the small, nonaccredited, church-related liberal arts college as an escape from modernism.[55] Some

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[55] Lutheran Book Concern Catalog 1924 (Columbus: Lutheran Book Concern, 1924), p. 245.

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smaller titles by Schoeler were Falsely Accused (B 1133), The Peerless Christ (B 1135), What Think Ye of the Bible (B 1141). Novels similar to The Lie of the Age in approach and style of writing were A Strong Man's Defeat (B 1138), a story of Samson, and The Red-bearded Spaniard (B 1137), a gory tale of the Spanish inquisition in the Netherlands.

A self-defeating and futile attempt of Schoeler followed in A Critique of Joseph McCabe's Triumph of Materialism (B 1132). Schoeler's last publication by the Lutheran Book Concern was Watermarks in the Gospel (B 1140), which was criticized severely in the Lutheran Herald, not because of the author's orthodoxy but because of his shameful plagiarism, the worst that had ever come to the reviewer's attention.[56]

In the 1919 list of new titles, we are introduced to a very prolific author of the Ohio Synod whose writing career invites comparison with that of Johann Michael Reu of the Iowa Synod. This Ohio Synod man was R. C. H. Lenski, and the publication introduced in 1919 was the New Gospel Selections (B 649). Like Reu, Lenski was a German immigrant who, after a theological education and a period as pastor, became a professor, editor, and church leader. The New Gospel Selections of 1919 was not Lenski's first book with the Lutheran Book Concern. While ministering to congregations in Maryland and Ohio, from 1887-1911, Lenski authored quite a few practical handbooks as aids for pastors in their sermon preparations. Among these were Biblische Frauenbilder, His Footsteps and the Eisenach Gospel Selections in two volumes.[57] The last title had a sequel in 1914 entitled The Eisenach Epistle Selections also in two volumes, and another in 1925, The Eisenach Old Testament Selections (B 632). The cryptic Eisenach reference in the titles, like the Thomasius reference in Reu's titles, simply meant a particular pericope or text series for Sunday sermon or scripture reading purpose as approved or prepared by church usage. The Eisenach periscope series was approved by the Eisenach Evangelical Conference (Evagelisch-Kirchliche Konferenz zu Eisenach) in 1896 as a proper and suitable supplement in cycling selections for scripture reading and preaching.

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[56] The criticism was voiced in a book review of the title by Julius Bodensieck in Lutheran Herald, Vol. 24 (November 16, 1929), p. 404. The specific major unquoted source was Edersheim's The Life and Times of Jesus the Messiah, published in 1883.

[57] Biblische Frauenbilder was published in 1895 by the Lutheran Book Concern. The 401-page volume compiled Lenski's sermons and lectures

Another early publication by R. C. H. Lenski, which merits attention because of a later similar publication, was St. Paul, a Brief Series of Evening Texts.[58] In 1928, Lenski published a similar book on St. John (B 650) subtitled Exegetical and Homilitical Text Studies. Thus far, all of these titles, including the New Gospel Selections, were practical handbooks for the minister's sermon preparations and continued the same mixture of exegetical, homilitical, and outline treatment of Biblical texts either in an accepted pericope series or in a topical sequence.

In 1919, coinciding with the publication of his New Gospel Selections, R. C. H. Lenski became dean of the Evangelical Lutheran Seminary of Capital University, a position which he held until 1935. He also taught practical theology and exegesis of the New Testament and during this period produced a monumental twelve-volume New Testament Commentary

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about the women of the Bible. It was translated and republished in English by Laurence Price in 1930 (B 649a). His Footsteps was subtitled Studies for Edification from the Life of Christ and was published by the Lutheran Book Concern in 1898 (365pp.).

[58] This book was published by the Lutheran Book Concern in 1916 (247pp.).

(B 635-647).[59] In 1922, Lenski published a book for the laity, The Active Church Member (B 631), and in 1927, a seminary textbook in homiletics, The Sermon; its Homiletical Construction (B 651). During the year 1927, Lenski authored also Kings and Priests (B 648), which was published by the Lutheran Literary Board of Burlington, Iowa. Before his death in 1936, Lenski managed to publish two heavy volumes of Epistle Selections of the Ancient Church (B 633) in 1935 and the Gospel Selections of the Ancient Church (B 634) in 1936.

There can be no question of Lenski's significance as author to the Ohio Synod. Yet, he was only one of several outstanding authors at the Lutheran Book Concern. Other authors, like Sheatsley or Lose, had their own literary fields and did not compete in the area of Biblical exegesis, in which Lenski predominated.

A decade or two later, Leupold continued Lenski's commentary extending it to the Old Testament. Leupold did not manage to cover the whole Old Testament; the sections issued were limited to Daniel (B 655), Ecclesiastes (B 656), Genesis (B 657), Psalms (B 658), and Zachariah (B 659).

The significance of Lenski was not limited to authorship of books; like Reu, who held editorial positions in the Iowa Synod, Lenski served in the Ohio Synod as editor of the Lutherische Kirchenzeitung from 1904-1924, and was a frequent contributor to the Theologische Zeitblaetter and the Theological Magazine.

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[59] The twelve-volume set, due to particular combinations of binding, may have imprint variations. In the 1940's and 1950's the reprinting was done under the Wartburg Press name. By combining Luke and Mark in one volume, the early set editions had only eleven volumes.

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Although Lenski was prolific and active in the ecclesiastical and publishing activities of the Ohio Synod, he never achieved the international and intersynodical recognition of Reu. While his New Testament Commentary was well known and favorably received by other synods, Lenski as a personality and as scholar lacked the vitality and versatility of Reu. He never expanded his intellectual interests as broadly or penetrated the subjects as deeply as Reu. Great amounts of Lenski's time were absorbed in administrative matters and church politics. From contemporary pamphlets and letters we can conclude that he was involved in unfruitful contentions and struggles with antagonistic sections of the Ohio Synod clergy, who sought his dismissal from the deanship of the Seminary.

The literary talent of R. C. H. Lenski was inherited by Gerhard Lenski, his son, who while serving as a pastor published quite a number of books for the American Lutheran Church, and his daughter, Lois Lenski, an outstanding author and illustrator of children's books, best known outside the Lutheran church.

Also prominent in the 1919 list of publications were Our Faith, or the Way of Salvation as taught by Holy Scriptures by George Henry Gerberding and History of the Ev. Luth. Joint Synod of Ohio and Other States by Sheatsley; both publications need some comment to avoid confusion.

Our Faith was originally published by the Lutheran Publishing Society of Philadelphia in 1887 under the title The Way of Salvation in the Lutheran Church; however, it was copyrighted by the author, who in 1919 permitted the Lutheran Book Concern to republish it under a new title. In 1941, Augsburg Publishing House, with the permission of the

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Lutheran Book Concern, published as a paperback in its Faith in Action series a somewhat abbreviated The Way of Salvation in the Lutheran Church (B 298) of 224 pages.

The History of the Evangelical Lutheran Joint Synod of Ohio and Other States; From its Earliest Beginnings to 1919 (B 1210) was written by C. V. Sheatsley, a relative of J. Sheatsley already introduced above. Clarence Valentine Sheatsley wrote on matters of missions and history of the Synod. Joseph Sheatsley was a writer of children's and Sunday School material and was editor of two periodicals.[60] The History of the Evangelical Lutheran Joint Synod of Ohio and Other States; its Earliest Beginnings to 1919 (B 1210) by C. V. Sheatsley was the most enterprising of his books. The mission publications and other histories from his pen are all smaller (See B 1211, B 1212, B 1213, B 1214) and some were just promotional material. The last of his books was more substantial, but not unusual and was not well received; Good News issued in 1931 (B 1209) dealt with church societies and agencies of evangelism. This work was criticized for its repetitiousness of subject matter and stereotyped expressions.[61]

In the 1920's, the publishing activities increased in volume and showed the varieties of publication that characterize the Lutheran Book Concern under the managership of Dornbirer.

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[60] J. Sheatsley was editor of Teacher's Annual from 1896-1903 and of The Lutheran Standard from 1915-1929. C. V. Sheatsley was an executive secretary of foreign missions.

[61] Frank B. Herzel, for example, in the Lutheran Church Quarterly, (October, 1931), criticized C. V. Sheatsley's book severely. He found it irrelevant and redundant.

One name which reflected the best in pulpit ministry was Simon Peter Long. In 1920, two of his sermon collections appeared: *The Eternal Epistle* and *The Wounded Word* (B 694). The former was a republished title from 1908, the other a first edition of Lenten meditations. Two more appeared later: *Prepare to Meet Thy God* (B 690), with no date of publication, and *The Way Made Plain,* published in 1926 (B 693).

Another prominent author of the same decade was R. E. Golladay, who in 1920 published another volume of his trilogy *Sermons on the Catechism* (B 336); this third volume was entitled *The Lord's Prayer* (B 335). The first volume, *The Ten Commandments* (B 337a), not included in the *Checklist,* appeared in 1915 and the second volume *The Apostle's Creed* in 1917 (B 328).

Golladay was an excellent pulpit preacher and, consequently, published his choice sermons for the benefit of his fellow preachers. In 1915, besides the first volume of his trilogy *The Ten Commandments,* he had also issued an anthology of his own Lenten sermons, a heavy 687-page book entitled *Lenten Outlines and Sermons.* Golladay published other works under the Lutheran Book Concern imprint in the merged church, including the sermon anthologies *The Challenge of a New Day* (B 329), *A Glimpse Behind the Veil* (B 332), and *The Son of God Rides on* (B 337).

Later, besides publishing *Thomasius Gospel Outlines* with the Wartburg Publishing House, Golladay published a half-dozen books with the Zondervan Publishing Company.

An oddity of the Golladay books is their consistent original copyrighting by the author and the notices that the titles were published by the Lutheran Book Concern for the author. Later editions usually have omitted these references.

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The seemingly great need for sermon materials was further met by L. H. Schuh, a pastor who also held the presidency of Capital University from 1901-1912, and was known to the reading public through *How to Make Marriage a Success* issued in 1904, *The Two Kings* issued in 1908, and *Life's Morning* in 1912. In 1918, Schuh edited *Funeral Sermons* (B 1190), a volume authored by various Lutheran pastors. In 1921, he edited another volume, *Missionary Sermons* (B 1196) and in 1922 issued two volumes of *Occasional Sermons* (B 1197).

Some books by Schuh were written with lay people in mind; among them were *The Complete Life* (B 1188), *Enjoying Church Work* (B 1189) (later issued as the second part of *Saved to Serve* (B 1198), *The Hidden Life* (B 1193), and *The Happy Family* (B 1192).

Louis Herman Schuh was the most prolific writer from the Schuh family, so well known in the American Lutheran Church. His son, Henry F. Schuh, after serving as stewardship secretary, became president of the American Lutheran Church from 1950-1960. Louis' elder brother, Henry Jacob Schuh, after a long service as pastor, became president of the Western District of the Ohio Synod. None of the other Schuhs came close to Louis Herman in writing or compiling books, although Henry Jacob and Henry Frederic wrote articles in the parochial periodicals.

The apparent need for sermon materials was further supplied in the 1920's by several other sermon collections. Such were: *Sermon Sketches on the Old Epistle Pericopes* by J. A. Dell (B 218), the *Biblical Texts for Special Occasions* by Paul W. Nesper (B 873), the *Sermon Sketches on the Old Testament Eisenach Texts* by Freseman, Hein and Schuette (B 275), *Refuge and Strength* by Otto Mees (B 809), and *The Evening Sacrifice* by E. W. Schramm (B 1145).

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In addition, many devotionals and shorter meditation materials were issued. In this variety, *From Bethany to Calvary* by Eugene Poppen (B 969), and *Building a New World* by Walter E. Tressel (B 1317) were meditation books, but *Moments with God* by W. E. Schuette (B 1175) was a daily devotional.

In a more pragmatic and practical line, there were at least half a dozen titles published for the promotion of foreign missions.

Attention was sustained on recruiting and edifying laity for church work through *Training the Laity for Personal Mission Work* by Alfred M. Wagner (B 1332), *Evangelism: a Handbook for Workers* by E. Pfeiffer (B 943), the above mentioned *Enjoying Church Work* by L. H. Schuh (B 1189), and the *Active Church Member* by R.C.H. Lenski (B 631).

The decade before the merger saw quite a few historical and introspective Lutheran "self studies". These tended to be tools of indoctrination for adults and young people; however, some of them were evaluative and analytic studies of the Lutheran or Christian tradition and documents. In the more sophisticated and scholarly line should be noted *The Making and Meaning of the Augsburg Confession* by Bergendoff (B 76), the *Holy Spirit* by Klueppel (B 559), *Faith and Sight* by Hantz (B 409), the *Cherubim of Glory* by Niels Rasmussen (B 992), and the *Guide to the Augsburg Confession* by Neve (B 884).

In the "self study" line of more popular publications the following are to be mentioned: the *Church History for the People* by Trabert, two Gerhard Lenski titles, *Forgotten Friends* (B 624) and *Pen Pictures of Prophets* (B 627), and two of J. W. Richard's titles, *One Hundred Fifty Years Ago or How Lutherans Helped Win Liberty* (B 1060) and *Penn's Lutheran Forerunners and Friends or, Two Hundred and Fifty Years Ago* (B 1061).

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Other edifying books, devoted to introspection and central teachings of the Lutheran Church, were the *Membership Manual* (B 228) and the *Ten Commandments* (B 229) of John F. Drewelow, *Martin Luther as a Preacher* by H. J. Grimm (B 349), and *Luther unter Vier Paepsten* by Gerfen (B 300).

There was also an institutional history written as the merger was consummated at the end of the decade: *History of the First Lutheran Seminary of the West* (B 1211) by C. V. Sheatsley, who had already contributed a synodical history in 1919 (B 1210).

An interesting group of publications dealt with the tradition, but in a more creative way. A well-intentioned *apologia* for religious and civic liberty was *Facts and Common Sense Versus too Much Government* by Garmen Staley (B 1253).

Two biographies of the twenties should be noted: *Christian Frederick Schwartz* by Gohdes (B 324) and *Life of Louis Harms* by H. J. Schuh (B 1187). These biographies were well written and presented the lives of two German Lutheran missionaries.

In contrast to these two well-written monographs, some biographies were published for teaching purposes and more didactic in tone. Such were *Forgotten Friends* (B 624), *Pen Pictures of Prophets* (B 627), and *Great Christians in Crises* (B 625).

The decade of the 1920's, and especially the closing years of the Lutheran Book Concern, were significant for the new and profitable discovery: publishing books for children. As stated earlier, this venture started during World War I when it was impossible for the bookstore to obtain reading material for children and youth from Germany. The Concern was forced to seek out writers and begin publishing its own children's books. Once in the field of juveniles, the switch to English

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titles was easy and the absorbing market and steady profits compelled the concern to continue this line of publishing.

Due to an unfortunate practice of not giving the date of publication and concealing the publisher's identity, a total survey of the publications is impossible. The date can be approximated through the titles' inclusion in a sales catalog or a price list. Even then, frequently the name of the publisher was an acronym (L.B.C/C.O.), but more often the word "Lutheran" was omitted and the imprint read: The Book Concern of Columbus, Ohio.

These juvenile books, from sixty to one hundred and twenty pages long, were usually not collected by institutions of learning, such as colleges or seminaries. In public and church libraries, these booklets tended to wear out or were weeded because of poor quality of the paper on which they were printed. Thus, these juvenile readers of the Lutheran Book Concern are now extremely hard to find.

The authors engaged by the Book Concern were obscure and, as such, were not featured in biographical directories nor were their works mentioned in standard bibliographies.

The largest collection of the Lutheran Book Concern and Wartburg Press juvenile titles, numbering about two hundred, is the Depository Collection of Augsburg Publishing House in Columbus, Ohio, and the second largest is in the possession of the writer, numbering about one hundred and twenty. The latter is located in the Augsburg College Library, Minneapolis, Minnesota. Both collections are uncataloged.

The first prolific author of juvenile stories was Ella M. Chaffey, also known as Mrs. Charles Francis Chaffey. She began writing for the concern in 1925, and published with it eleven titles: The Chapel in the

Woods (B 152), Osel's Story (B 157), The Pure in Heart (B 158), The Young Pilgrims (B 163), To Cariboo and Back (B 161), Sparrows (B 160), In the Wilds of the Pacific Northwest (B 154), A Cloud Dispelled (B 153), The Little Apricot Cutter (B 155), Sarah Ranfly (B 159), The Old Skid Road (B 156), the The Two Novices (B 162).

Several of the titles were published either with or without permission by other publishers. Thus, titles such as Cloud Dispelled and Osel's Story were published by the Augustana Book Concern, in Rock Island, Illinois. The Chapel in the Woods, Pure in Heart, Young Pilgrims, and In the Wilds of the Pacific Northwest were issued by the Lutheran Literary Board in Burlington, Iowa. Two of Mrs. Chaffey's stories were published in Canada: The Adventures of Prince Melonseed and The Adventurous Road (Toronto, 1916), and one in England: The Youngsters of Murray Home (London, 1896).

Another prolific author of children's stories was G. W. Lose; with forty-one books he was numerically the top producer. It is very difficult to separate the titles Lose published before 1917 from those issued after that year. Some of the titles were first published in German and then translated into English. Two of the stories were translated from English into Norwegian (B 723, B 732). The Checklist of Monographs provides a partial enumeration of the books written by Lose (B 700-B 751). According to information found in Who's Who (1918), Lose produced forty-nine other titles before 1917,[62] presumably also issued by the Lutheran Book Concern.

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[62] Who's Who in America, Vol. X, 1918-1919 (Chicago: Marquis Co., 1918), p. 1687.

Georg William Lose was an American-born German Lutheran clergyman. From 1875 to 1900, he was a minister in several congregations in Ohio and Pennsylvania and then became assistant editor of the *Lutheran Standard*. Before this editorial position, Lose was part-time editor of *Lutheran Child's Paper* and *The Little Missionary*, two parochial youth publications. It is almost impossible to evaluate how children's literature of fifty or thirty years ago might have served and affected its readers. To the modern reader, the stories seem hopelessly trite and naive, and their didacticism is overbearing. Nevertheless, Lose's books were printed and reprinted, translated and revised, and some remained in print for nearly thirty years.

Another minister already mentioned in connection with a collection of sermons and devotionals, W. E. Schuette, was also a productive writer of children's books. Like Lose, Schuette occupied editorial positions and was a prominent church leader in the Ohio Synod. Schuette held pastorates in Michigan, Ohio, and West Virginia and was president of the Eastern District of the American Lutheran Church. He served as editor of the *Lutheran Standard* from 1909-1915 and associate editor of the *Lutheran Survey* from 1914-1917. Altogether, Schuette wrote nineteen juvenile stories and eight plays besides the already mentioned works (B 1156-B 1185).

Among the most productive writers of juveniles should be mentioned Felicia Butts Clark with nine titles (B 171-B 179), Julia Lestarjette Glover with sixteen books (B 307-B 322), Harry P. Long with thirteen titles (B 675-B 687), Blanche Milligan with eight titles (B 823-B 832), John Theodore Mueller with twelve titles (B 846-B 857), and W. G. Polack with seven works (B 954-B 960).

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Of this group of writers, only one was prominent as an author of religious books and a recognized theologian of the Lutheran church. John Theodore Mueller was a German Lutheran from the Missouri Synod, born in Minnesota, and was a professor of theology at Concordia Seminary in St. Louis for many years. In addition to his academic duties, he was contributing editor of Der Lutheraner, the Concordia Theological Monthly, the Lutheran Witness, and editor of Die Missionstaube. Most of his books in theology were published by Concordia Publishing House. Mueller was also known as a radio speaker on religious topics.

Another group of authors with fewer juvenile books to their credit consisted of Elsa Gorham Baker (B 53-B 57), Emily Hutson Glover (B 305-B 306), Hal Correll (B 188-B 193), Esther L. Ferne (B 250-B 252), H. H. Graham (B 343-B 345), Paul Hansen (B 399-B 401), Kathleen Hay (B 419-B 421a), Franz Hoffman (B 456-B 458), Mary E. Ireland (B 486-B 488), Fannie States (B 1255-B 1258), and H. Marchwuerth (B 797-B 798).

A dozen more authors in this field contributed a title each,[63] making a total of more than two hundred titles. In the 1920's, and during the first half of the 1930's, the Book Concern made an unusually strong publishing effort, and with over 200 books dwarfed the efforts of the Wartburg Publishing House, which had only a few juvenile books on its list. Even the merged Lutheran Book Concern (1930-40) and the Wartburg Press (1940-60) were far behind this record. The Wartburg Press, during its twenty years of existence, published only sixty-nine titles for young readers; Augsburg Publishing House issued only eighty-four story books during the entire fifty year period covered by this survey.

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[63] Christian G. Barth (B 60); Millie Bock (B 100a); Felicia Buh (B 134); Walter E. Butts (B 145); Frank P. Chorpenning (B 166); Anna Graetz (B 341); Clare Johnson (B 510); Edythe Johnson (B 511); Richard Marden (B 799); William Mierop (B 821); Matthew Miller (B 822); Anne Sutton (B 1280).

In the 1920's, the Lutheran Book Concern produced a hymnal for children entitled School Carols (B 1142) and another one for adults, the American Lutheran Hymnal (B 10a). At the time of its planning and publishing, the American Lutheran Hymnal seemed a very significant step in the inter-Lutheran merger movement. Under the leadership of Emmanuel Poppen of the Iowa Synod, as early as 1921 an Intersynodical Committee was organized to study and eventually publish a joint hymnal. Eight Lutheran bodies participated in a painstaking nine-year effort to produce a song book that would meet the needs of each participant and serve a number of commonly needed functions for all. As a result, the American Lutheran Hymnal was a bulky and heavy volume. It contained hymns translated from German and Scandinavian languages and many for children and for special occasions; it featured songs for all Sundays of the church year, as well as a great number of hymns on the main doctrines of the church. The hymnal was provided with several indexes, the order of the morning worship service, the Ohio Synod services, scripture lessons, introits, collects, graduals, and the passion history. The large volume (with music) of more than 800 pages printed on heavy paper and the 944-page small size editions volume (words only) both appeared to reviewers as too much bulk and weight for comfortable handling.

There were other complaints voiced by congregations. Some objected to the inclusion of many new and never used hymns, while others complained about the elimination of several familiar tunes. But most devastating was the unwillingness of the involved church bodies who cooperated, planned, and produced the American Lutheran Hymnal ever to adopt it for official use in their congregations.

Fourteen years later when the same group of church bodies was studying the compilation of another intersynodical hymnal, the chairman of a committee appointed to study revision of the American Lutheran Hymnal, John O. Lang, revealed an additional deplorable fact:

> Though representation from various Lutheran groups helped to compile the hymnal, it was officially adopted only by the American Lutheran Church. The other groups with the exception of Missouri, did not even see fit to buy a set of plates nor to help pay the cost of the master plates.[64]

The cooperative venture did not come to a real fruition in terms of use, and it was an outright defeat of intersynodical efforts to share financial burdens.

Still, the American Lutheran Hymnal became the official hymnal of the American Lutheran Church and, as such, remained a symbol of the merger, bringing together the Iowa, Ohio, and Buffalo synods into one household. Although the hymnal failed to serve introsynodical and ecumenical ends, it served well enough to the newly merged American Lutheran Church as common expression of its faith and worship.

The array of titles surveyed above impresses the observer with its variety and with the multitude of writers engaged in its production, yet the volume of the total publishing output is equally impressive in the statistics published at the time of the merger. According to a report, Lutheran Book Concern published in the two-year interval between August 1, 1928, and August 1, 1930, 101 titles including reprints and revised editions, and the total imprint volume was 513,462 copies. During the same period, the concern printed also 839,917 pamphlets or brochures,

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[64] Report of the Chairman of the Committee to Study Revision of the American Lutheran Hymnal 1945, p. 3, Archives Collection, Augsburg Publishing House (mimeographed).

8,994,652 issues of periodicals, 1,349,289 tracts and 231,050 cards.[65]

B. The Lutheran Book Concern and the Wartburg Press of the American Lutheran Church 1930-1960

The merger event and the birth of the new church body--the American Lutheran Church--took place on August 11 and 12, 1930, legally consolidating the departments of the merging synods in new units for each aspect of the church work. Thus, the establishment of a new Board of Publications unified the two publishing establishments into one. In reality, the blending of the institutions occurred much later. In some ways, the merger document itself delayed a real merger, as it dealt in a prejudicial way in favor of the Lutheran Book Concern. If the document had aimed to preserve both publishing traditions, it would have bolstered the smaller and weaker one. But, as is common in mergers of two partners of unequal size, the smaller one regresses and disintegrates while the larger one becomes more predominant and stronger in the process.

This inequality was actually provided for in the "blue book", as the merger document was called, which assigned the leading role of publishing for the new church to Lutheran Book Concern and designated Wartburg Publishing House as a branch and its manager as branch supervisor, subordinated to the manager of the Lutheran Book Concern.[66] In the absence of constructive plans to retain or revise its publishing tradition, the Wartburg Publishing House became a wholesale and retail distribution center for the Lutheran Book Concern in Chicago.

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[65] General Manager's Report, Books Printed and Bound from August 1, 1928, to August 1, 1930, n.d., p. 8, Archives Collection, Augsburg Publishing House (mimeographed).

[66] Constitution and By-Laws for the American Lutheran Church (Columbus, 1930), p. 96.

It is true that both physical plants remained intact; even both trade names were retained and reprints of the Wartburg Publishing House carried their old imprints. Yet in the new publications, the Lutheran Book Concern imprint was used as a rule, and as long as the manager of the old Lutheran Book Concern was in charge, that is, until 1940, the books bore all characteristics of the old house. Only in 1940, when the Lutheran Book Concern came under the management of Daniel Schonting, did the design and the make-up of the publications change. And only then was the name of the Lutheran Book Concern changed to Wartburg Press. Finally, the distribution and sales function of the Wartburg Press was found to be inefficient, and the Board of Publication upon the recommendations of the Branch Manager, H. Hinkel, closed the branch on May 1, 1944, and sold the old Wartburg Publishing House building in Chicago.[67]

The beginning years of the new Board of Publication were occupied with financial difficulties, which stemmed partly from the deficits in publishing the periodicals of the church. Editors had to be found for each consolidated periodical, subscription lists needed expansion, and unpaid subscriptions needed collection. A sampling of financial reports of the early 1930's shows that the periodicals were real financial liabilities. Due to the depression and the merger, readers were reluctant to renew subscriptions and pay up old subscription debts. An auditor's report in 1931 shows that seventeen periodicals of the newly merged church operated at a loss of $35,206. Two magazines, Studies for Luther League and Child's Paper, showed a modest profit totalling $460.00. The Wartburg Publishing House branch added a further $22,188.00

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[67] Mimeographed circular letter from S. C. Michelfelder, Secretary of the Board of Publication, to pastors of the American Lutheran Church, dated April 28, 1944, Archives Collection, Augsburg Publishing House.

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loss through its lagging sales, the depreciation of the building, and the devaluation of securities. The total loss amounted to $57,394.00.

Fortunately, the effects of the depression did not last long, and the diligent efforts of A. Dornbirer and the editors of the periodicals turned the tables to show gain. The auditors' report of 1935 indicated periodical revenues of $87,407, exceeding the $86,045 expenses by $1,361 of net profit. In addition, the sales departments of books and other merchandise in both cities showed a gain of $25,725.

It was Dornbirer's financial know-how and thrift that kept the Lutheran Book Concern solvent and profitable. He was quite apologetic for the few years following the merger in which he had a deficit, and soon overcame the slump and turned the trend upward to steady profit and gain. In evaluating the 1920's and 1930's, Dornbirer said:

> In contrast to the ten years of national prosperity in the nineteen twenties of which, by grace of God, the Book Concern was a fortunate participant there followed in the nineteen thirties a period of financial disturbances and nation-wide economic distress, such as the nation had not previously experienced. Some of the blows also fell to the lot of the Book Concern, but they were fewer in number and less severe than it was at first feared. . . .
>
> The many bank failures or bank transactions made it impossible for many patrons to pay their accounts. . . .
>
> The other depression blow to which reference will here be made befell the sale of children's story books in which life is related from the Christian point of view and of which the Book Concern had become one of the largest producers.[68]

Even without a massive publishing of children's books, the Lutheran Book Concern weathered the depression well, and by May 31, 1940, when Dornbirer retired, had paid off all indebtedness on the buildings which, in 1930 amounted to $166,655.[69] According to Dornbirer's calculations for the decade of the 1930's, the Lutheran Book Concern contributed $60,000 to the church and about $10,000 to Capital University.[70]

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[68] A. H. Dornbirer, op. cit., p. 39, 40.

[69] Ibid., p. 41.

In his function as general manager, Dornbirer was foremost a practical businessman, devoted to guarding and promoting the fiscal health of the concern. In 1933, at the beginnings of the newly consolidated Lutheran Book Concern, he was challenged by the Stewardship Secretary, Henry Schuh, to give the church offices greater discounts and turn over to the church a larger share of the earnings. The unfairness of the request and the failure of Schuh to appreciate his efforts and achievements, caused Dornbirer to write a reply of sixteen pages in defense of church-related publishing.

To a certain degree, these sixteen pages provide a historical footnote that is quite valuable in clarifying the role of a church-related publisher vis-a-vis the other departments of the church. It also provided a working policy and a rationale of operation for the management of Dornbirer.[71]

Because Dornbirer was more than seventy years old in the late 1930's, the Board became concerned about a suitable replacement. The minutes occasionally mention Dornbirer's son, Elmer, also employed at the Book Concern, as a possible replacement. However, when A. H. Dornbirer announced his retirement on July 25, 1939, to be relieved of his duties as of June 1, 1940, four other candidates were considered.

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[70] Ibid., p. 45. Dornbirer summed up the total donations of the Lutheran Book Concern during his management as $195,000 to the church and about $40,000 to Capital University. The total earning and property value accrued during his management he estimated at $1,086,329.

[71] Report to Schuh's Request. Mimeographed letter, unsigned, dated September 28, 1933, Archives Collection, Augsburg Publishing House, p. 2.

Although Elmer Dornbirer remained on the staff of the Lutheran Book Concern, the Board elected an impressive, innovative, and academic layman, Daniel Schonting, the treasurer of Capital University, for this position. In the person of Daniel Schonting, the Board of Publication found an excellent replacement for A. L. Dornbirer, perhaps obtaining more than it had hoped for. Although not stated anywhere in the minutes, there can be read between the lines a wish for a little less ambition and efficiency. Before his new engagement, Daniel Schonting had been, besides treasurer of Capital University, professor of commerce at Ohio State University and a certified public accountant. Schonting lacked one qualification sought by the Board, namely, a ministerial background. Actually, Schonting showed more zeal for the souls of his staff than his ministerial predecessors, as he provided for daily devotions, lenten meditations, and edifying lectures for all employees.

Schonting asserted his leadership as soon as he assumed the responsibilities of management. As an academician, he knew with certainty what a good business enterprise should be, and he pressed hard to attain it. The first meeting of the Board of Publication with the new manager on July 23, 1940, illustrates the situation well. In an agenda prepared by Schonting, the Board was faced with an array of improvement and reorganization ideas with requests for action. Most of these proposed changes were needed and overdue, especially in personnel matters. A most needed improvement was an equitable and sufficient employee's retirement and pension plan; Schonting requested an immediate appointment of a committee to formulate and install such employment benefits. Further personnel policies initiated by him required retirement at the age of 65 and the rule that no more than one member of a family be

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employed by the concern. There were three Dornbirers employed by the concern at the time.[72]

Besides the policies initiated in personnel administration, Schonting undertook the most difficult task of any management: he began reorganizing and departmentalizing the whole enterprise, at the same time delegating responsibilities to a team of new employees. Staff manuals and organizational charts preserved from this period testify to the thoroughness of Schonting's plans.

In accordance with these plans, he divided the concern into nine departments: distribution (including sales promotion), production, purchasing, finance (accounting, budgets, and reports), traffic (shipping, mail, etc.), credits and collection, legal, editorial, and personnel. Although the former managers had functioned in these nine areas, no departmentalization had ever been attempted previously.

Schonting also started to overhaul the general accounting system, including the store and stock control, and he made first attempts at cost accounting. Considerations of convenience and efficiency prompted Schonting, likewise, to install a new communications system with the Ohio Bell Telephone Company. A switchboard and a switchboard operator were cherished "firsts" at the Lutheran Book Concern.

During the first six months of management, Schonting left hardly anything untouched by his innovative and comprehensive reorganization. A group hospitalization for employees was started; entrance tests and medical check-ups were installed. A very important change was the concern's new name, "Wartburg Press", with a newly designed coat of arms to serve as trademark.

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[72] By December 4, 1940, Schonting submitted a list of over-age employees as well as members of the same family engaged by the concern. There were three Dornbirers, four Wetzels, and several other cases of two members of one family working.

How practical, basic, and far reaching Schonting's reorganization was is best exemplified in a section of his first report to the Board:

> Flourescent lights are being installed in the general offices and plant. This type of lighting offers greater illumination at a lower operating cost. This improved illumination should add much to increase the efficiency of the workers.
>
> Lockers should be installed for all employees to take care of their personal wearing apparel. At present, cloaks, hats, etc., are hung on the walls or in the toilets. Individual steel lockers should be provided for this purpose.
>
> A partition will be erected in the rear of the small front office, and the rear room will be used for a locker room and files not in continual use.
>
> The book store is in the process of rearrangement. The present store can be made more attractive to the customer by placing stock for display in better locations. Desks, filing cabinets, old show cases and other unsightly furniture in the retail store will be removed and placed on the balcony or stored in the basement.
>
> Employees at the present time have no place for recreation, rest, and lounging during the noon hours. It is proposed to erect partitions on the second floor of the building, one on the east side and one on the west side, one room for men and the other for the women, to be used as a lounge and rest room during lunch hours and other recess periods.[73]

Schonting was not fully satisfied with his personnel and physical plant improvement, admonishing the Board repeatedly to look to the future, to make long range plans, to improve the quality of the publications, to advertise and distribute books more effectively, and to join national and professional organizations.

He hired an artist as consultant for book and jacket designs, and berated the Board for the artistic mediocrity of the past:

> Publications of the Lutheran Book Concern are seldom criticized for their reading content. However, there are numerous complaints relative to illustrations and general make-up. Books and other

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[73] Report of the General Manager of the Board of Publication of the American Lutheran Church, December 4, 1940, Archives Collection, Augsburg Publishing House (mimeographed), p. 6.

> forms of publications today must be attractive if they are to be sold. Color, art work, photographs, etc., all constitute an important phase in the production and sale of the modern book. Looking forward toward meeting this demand the management has secured the services of Miss Kinsell, an artist, on a parttime basis, with the view that she may later become a full-time employee of the Book Concern.[74]

Though Schonting's management was progressive and innovative, and though he tried to operate the Press with efficiency and economy according to the best management principles and theories, he did not meet with success: the actual business income decreased. The improvements were too expensive and too concentrated to be absorbed by the lagging profits, and the attempted organizational structure was too costly for the existing business volume. To begin with, loans were secured and the debt-free Lutheran Book Concern became again a debt-laden Wartburg Press.

By 1947, when a branch was unsuccessfully established in Omaha, Nebraska, and the film The Way of Peace failed, the total indebtedness rose to $165,000. When a new bookstore outlet in Canada was opened, an additional sum of $15,000 in liabilities was added.

The interest on the notes and their uncollectability created great financial hardships, so that in 1948 and 1949 the fiscal year ended with substantial losses.[75] As a last resort, a consultant, M. C. Ewald, was hired. Ewald, a retired executive from the automotive industry serving on the Board of Trustees of the American Lutheran Church, was aware of some of the flaws of the Press but was sympathetic with the efforts of the manager. The church supported an evaluation and advice eagerly, for the bulk of the loan had been secured by the Investment Committee of the American Lutheran Church, which now doubted the financial solvency of the Press. The position of management consultancy was established on an experimental basis.[76] Ewald intended to make an efficiency study and to give systematic appraisal of the management. The death of the consultant on October 28, 1949, put an end to the above plans.

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[74] Ibid., p. 5.

[75] The loss of the fiscal year 1948 was $39,138 and $33,266 for 1949.

Manager Schonting resigned effective October 1 of the same year and was succeeded by Elmer Dornbirer, the son of A. L. Dornbirer. Elmer Dornbirer had grown up with the Lutheran Book Concern while observing and later working with his father. He had functioned in almost all of the departments and later, under Schonting, had managed the production department. He served as manager from May 1, 1950 to 1960, when the Wartburg Press merged with Augsburg Publishing House. The tradition of conservative financial prudence, thrift and reduction of costly procedures reversed the downward trend. In 1950, the Press concluded the fiscal year with a $7,704 profit. Under Dornbirer, the Ewald report was completed by A. W. Weber;[77] however, the trend upward had already started independent of the recommendations, and the profits continued to increase, reaching a peak in 1958.[78]

The ten-year period of Dornbirer's management was outwardly not as spectacular as the decade under Schonting, but it proved to be a

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[76] The decision was made on August 31, 1948.

[77] Weber was an accountant of the Stewardship and Finance Office of the American Lutheran Church.

[78] The net profit for 1951 was $55,992; 1952--$43,536; 1953--$50,675; 1954--$77,323; 1955--$50,229; 1956--$79,029; 1957--$49,800; 1958--$140,544. The first half of 1959 produced $75,000 profit, however, the second half of the year suffered a $127,517 loss to clear poor stock, uncollected receivables as a realistic accounting measure for the merger. Figures obtained from audited fiscal reports. Archives Collection, Augsburg Publishing House.

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financially sound and productive period.

During the 1950's, several physical improvements were made at the Wartburg Press; expensive machinery was bought, the branches in Blair and Omaha were developed to a point of solvency, and all this without financial loss. Dornbirer repaid with great speed the indebtedness his predecessor had incurred. He also found means to invest in an elaborate curriculum material project, The American Uniform Church School Series, and he cooperated with the United Lutheran Church and the Augustana Lutheran Church in revising The Christian Growth Series, another elaborate curriculum program. The publishing of curriculum material demanded extensive editorial work for which an editorial staff of several individuals was maintained. The curriculum materials, likewise, made demands upon the printing, shipping, and bookkeeping departments of the Press and, therefore, competed to some extent with the book publishing program. The general nature of the curriculum materials, with the exclusion of some shorter series, was similar to periodical production with continuous editorial work, issue deadlines, subscription sales, and bulk delivery. More involved than periodical production was the theme coordination required to provide all grades with the same topic presented on various levels of difficulty and coordinated with teacher and parent series, tests, workbook and audio-visual aids.

An attempt was even made to publish Sermons on the American Uniform Church School Series. The manuscript by Pastor G. J. Grewenow was rejected by the Board on the assumption that ministers would not welcome the idea of using the same text for church services as in the Sunday School.[79]

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[79] Minutes of the Board of Publication of the American Lutheran Church (Chicago, October 23 and 24, 1956), p. 418.

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It should be added here that, aside from the *American Uniform Church School Series*, the Press provided weekly papers, *The Child's Paper* and *The Lutheran Youth*, to Sunday Schools, which taxed the daily Wartburg Press operation. Likewise, the *Lutheran Standard*, published by the Wartburg Press, occupied the printing presses more as the circulation increased rapidly from 84,000 copies in 1950 to 110,000 copies in 1955.[80]

In addition, the Press published the periodicals *Kirchenblatt*, *Luther League Leader*, the *Church School Teacher*, and *Portals of Prayer*, and printed the *Women's Missionary Outlook*, the *Lutheran Missionary*, the *Lutheran Banner*, *Lutheran Highlights*, *Seedgrains*, *Samenkoerner*, *Capital Chimes*, the *Ohio District Bulletin* and assorted other materials, such as *Every Sunday Church Bulletins*, *Bible stories in Pictures*, cards, pamphlets, calendars and pictures for activity packets, and coloring units.

Beginning with Schonting's management, and continuing through Elmer Dornbirer's decade, the bookstore also sold full lines of altar ware, communion ware, offering plates, candles, certificates, jewelry, vestments and paraments, office supplies, mimeograph machines, visual aids, sound projectors, screens, recorders, microphones, slide viewers, and an assortment of other items, including flags, maps, and plaques. The Wartburg Press also offered services such as film rentals, projector service and repairs. The several hundred page sales catalog, which listed books published by Wartburg Press among a large selection of books by other publishers, gives the impression that book publishing by

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[80] At the outset of the American Lutheran Church, the *Lutheran Standard* had only a circulation of 15,580 copies; in 1940, only 30,000 copies.

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Wartburg Press was only an incidental matter.

In terms of sales volume and gains, book publishing was a rather insignificant matter; on the other hand, in terms of expenses, it was a substantial and risky capital investment with slow return of the investment and small profit margins. Yet, the Press kept on publishing an average of a dozen books a year, and it ranked as the fifth largest Lutheran Publisher, according to Publishers Trade List Annual entries.[81]

The array of book publication during the thirty years of publishing for the American Lutheran Church was as varied as that of the antecedent Ohio Synod, but with increased volume, improved design and higher quality.

The three managerial decades provide natural dividing lines for the coverage of the whole period of publishing: the 1930's--the decade of A. L. Dornbirer, the 1940's with Schonting, and the 1950's with Elmer R. Dornbirer at the helm.

The merger of 1930 provided the Lutheran Book Concern and A. L. Dornbirer an opportunity for uninterrupted and increased volume of publishing activities. Whereas Wartburg Publishing House authors, except for Johann Michael Reu and a few others, fell into oblivion, the authors of the Book Concern not only continued but widened their readership circles in the new fellowship. Even the unchanged name of the Lutheran Book Concern for the decade of the 1930's shows the dominance and vitality of the publishing tradition of the Ohio Synod in the merger of 1930.

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[81] Report on Lutheran Publication List to Lutheran Managers Association, dated September 22, 1953, prorated the expenses of publishing the catalog section in the PTLA on the basis of titles included in the list. For the years 1953-54 the largest Lutheran publishers were Concordia Publishing House with 28%, Augsburg Publishing House with 24%, Muhlenberg Press with 20%, Augustana Book Concern with 14%, Wartburg Press with 9% of the total listings.

From a list published in 1945 naming the outstanding publications issued by the Lutheran Book Concern during the 1930's, the following occupy the top ten spots: The American Lutheran Hymnal (B 10a), At Jesus' Feet by E. W. Schramm (B 1143), A Book of Prayers for Boys and Girls by G. J. Neuman (B 877), Christian Ethics by J. M. Reu in colaboration with P. H. Buehring (B 1013), Epistle Selections by R. C. H. Lenski (B 633), How to Teach in the Sunday School by J. M. Reu (B 1028), Junior Catechism by J. A. Dell (B 216), Lenski's Commentaries in 11 volumes (B 635, 636, 637, 641, 642, 644, 645, 645a, 646, 647), Luther's German Bible by J. M. Reu (B 1037), and Senior Catechism by J. A. Dell (B 217).

The ranking in this list was by sales volume; thus, this is an informal publishers' best seller list of the decade. Most titles have been mentioned already when introducing the authors in connection with their pre-merger publications, except for the books of Dell and Neumann. Before the merger, Dell had published only two small juveniles and a sermon outline collection: Dan Workman's Big Game (B 214), Under a Cloud (B 219), and Sermon Sketches on the Old Epistle Pericopes (B 218). The Senior Catechism (B 217) was an attempt to upgrade and modernize Reu's Wartburg Lesson Helps. Dell received the assignment from the Board of Publication on November 17, 1936; he was asked to write a catechism text for older youth in question and answer form. The thetic form was assigned to Johann Michael Reu himself. The Junior Catechism (B 216) was a result of an earlier request to Dell by Dornbirer and a revision of the manuscript according to the recommendations of the Board of Elementary Christian Education.[82] Both publications of Dell were actually curriculum materials, although they were not parts of series and were sold and advertised independently from the *Wartburg Lesson Helps* Series.

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[82] Annual Meeting of the Board of Publication of the American Lutheran Church (minutes), June 10, 1934, pp. 1, 2.

The other author, G. J. Neumann, with the third bestseller *A Book of Prayers for Boys and Girls*, was a member of the Board of Publication who had considerable talent in writing for children. The *Book of Prayers* was published first in 1939 and was one of the author's earliest publications, although he had served on the Board of Publication since 1930. Due to its excellence as a devotional, this title was republished in 1957 by the Wartburg Press (B 878) and in 1961 by Augsburg Publishing House (B 879).

Neumann's children stories, *The Door That Walked Away* (B 880), *The Golden ABC for God's Little Ones* (B 881), *The Star and the Stall* (B 882), and the *Wonder of Long Ago* (B 883), appeared in the late 1950's.

In a report to the ministerium shortly before his retirement, Dornbirer made references to some other books selling exceptionally well and to some with poor sales. With excellent sales records, he cited *Watch Yourself Go By* by Eduard Kuhlmann (B 597), *Outstanding Women of the Bible* by Lenski (B 649a), *To My Sunday School Teachers* by Sheatsley (B 1229), and *Saved to Serve* by Schuh (B 1198).

As slow sellers, Dornbirer noted *The Best Possible Sunday School* by Schutte (B 1156), *Happy Family* by Schuh (B 1192), and *Pen Pictures of the Prophets* by Gerhard Lenski (B 627).[83]

Watch Yourself Go By, one of Kuhlmann's earliest books, was a sophisticated collection of essays on general subjects. It consisted of 56 short "musings" on common human foibles and fallacies with a slight

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[83] Dornbirer's mimeographed letter to the ministers of the American Lutheran Church dated July 18, 1939, Archives Collection, Augsburg Publishing House.

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religious slant, written in sparkling colloquial English. Although Kuhlmann was a preacher who also published sermon materials and wrote religious books for children, he knew how to approach his subjects from a fresh and unusual side. The titles of his books show this tendency. For example, two children's books on the Ten Commandments were entitled *Little Journeys on Highway 10* (B 589), *What We Learned on Highway 10* (B 598), and a collection of sermons for Lent was entitled *Cross Examined* (B 584).

The books in which Kuhlmann's intellect was best displayed, were the musings or short essay titles. Such intellectual musings were his *Seed Thoughts* (B 593), *Choosing Our memories* (B 583), *How Do You Do?* (B 588), and *Marks of Distinction* (B 590).

Edward Kuhlmann wrote also a number of conventional children's books with conservative titles and contents: *Teach Me Thy Way* (B 595), *Bearers of Heavenly Gifts* (B 582), *God's Children at Prayer* (B 586), *He Will Teach Us* (B 587), and *Paths of Prayer* (B 591).

A challenging task presented itself to Kuhlmann in 1944, when he had to blend the creative with the conventional. He was asked to write a "gift-book" on the Lutheran faith. The problem of how to present the core of Lutheran doctrines in a book pleasing to give and to receive was solved by choosing Martin Luther's coat of arms. He took from the coat of arms the black cross, and developed a chapter on the *Supremacy of Love*; the white rose became *Partnership with God*, the blue sky *Catching Visions*, and the ring *The Circles We Draw*. The result was a delightful book, but void of theology. As the book did not present Lutheran faith with the directness expected, the Board was ambivalent about it. They also questioned the author's suggested title *My Coat of Arms*. In their opinion, *Luther's Coat of Arms* was more appropriate; some other suggestions--*Heart Beneath the Cross*, *Emblem of Honor*, and *Wear it Proudly*--were considered, keeping in mind the anticipated market--the confirmands. The final choice, Proudly We Hail, a title giving more national than religious connotations, was hardly fitting for a book so imaginatively written (B 592).

A word of caution should be said in regard to Outstanding Women of the Bible (B 649a), the authorship of which the publisher wrongly attributed to the translator. This title, originally Biblische Frauenbilder, was a work of R. C. H. Lenski and had been published in 1885. The English translation by Laurence Price was published in 1930.

The book by Jacob Sheatsley, To My Sunday School Teachers, was a popular and frequently reprinted title originally published in 1902. It contained a series of speeches on Sunday School teaching which were considered quite helpful. It sold well for more than a third of a century.

In the 1930's, Dornbirer met with success in publishing Lenski's New Testament Commentary. Considerable investment was required to get the eleven volumes in print. Stringent measures of economy, such as binding the volumes of Mark and Luke into one and considering the author's royalties as a voluntary donation, enabled the Concern to complete this publishing feat. Fortunately, Lenski's commentary sold well and was profitable, so that in the next decade Schonting decided to stereoplate the edition.

The sales, however, did not completely offset the stereotyping expense during the decade of Schonting. Only by 1954 could the manager affirm that the total sales of 62,500 books had realized a profit of $10,000.[84] The Commentary sold in sets and in single volumes, retail and wholesale, with the price changing over the years, making the calculation

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[84] E. R. Dornbirer's letter to Dr. G. E. Lenski on March 24, 1954, Archives Collection, Augsburg Publishing House.

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of the profit somewhat difficult.

Another author who continued new publications all through the decade of the 1930's was Johann Michael Reu. As his literary activity has been discussed before, it suffices to note that eight of his titles were published in the 1930's,[85] and seven in the 1940's.[86] Although Reu's works contributed to Biblical and catechetical studies, and thus were more curricular in content and form, they had undeniable popular demand. This popularity was, to a large extent, due to Reu's personality and activities, but it was also aided by his conservatism. He seemed to provide safety through his orthodoxy, guarding the student as well as the teacher from "errors and heresies".

In the category of devotionals, the 1930's produced a good and lasting daily prayer book, At Jesus' Feet, under the editorship of E. W. Schramm (B 1143). This 747-page devotional, written by twenty-three pastors of the American Lutheran Church in a variety of styles and religious orientations, was intended for family reading and was improved in the second edition with illustrations and topical and Biblical text indexes (1940). Although this diversity of styles deprived At Jesus' Feet of uniformity and constancy, it was, nevertheless, a work of substantial quality and thoroughness and was again issued in 1970 with the imprint of Augsburg Publishing House.

Another devotional of the 1930's, written for the comfort of the afflicted, was The Door of Hope by Frieda J. Schneider (B 1127). It consisted of scripture texts, prayers, poems, and comforting advice. A more unusual devotional, composed in poetic form on the passion story, was The Tragedy of Calvary by C. A. D. Freseman (B 274). The versification was not successful and, therefore, this work did not possess the epic grandeur aspired to by the author. Interestingly, some of the reviewers, especially W. G. Polack in the Lutheran Witness, praised Freseman's orthodoxy more than his poetic achievement.[87]

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[85] These were: B 1005, B 1013, B 1016, B 1028, B 1036, B 1037, B 1044, B 1046.

[86] See B 1006, B 1011, B 1018, B 1022, B 1027, B 1029, B 1034 in the Checklist.

In the field of sermon materials, which a church-related publisher as a rule produces in abundance, the Lutheran Book Concern published sixteen books during the 1930's. Six of these were Lenten sermon collections for the yearly seasonal markets of Lent and Easter.[88] Most of the remaining titles have been mentioned earlier in discussing Lenski (B 633, B 634), Schuh (B 1193), Dell (B 218), Golladay (B 329, B 332), Schramm (B 1145), Yochum (B 1373), and Young (B 1375). Not presented before, but probably also published in the 1930's, was the undated The Voice of Jesus and other Occasional Sermons by George Drach, at the time editor of the Foreign Missionary magazine (B 227).

During the decade of Dornbirer's management, about twenty juveniles were published, denoting a decline from the number issued in the previous ten years in the Ohio Synod. The main authors in the young readers' field of the 1930's were Hal Correll and Paul E. Kretzmann. Correll addressed his stories to boys and wrote on non-Biblical topics. His books were: The Golden Torque (B 188), In Single Combat (B 189), Kindness Wins (B 190),

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[87] The review by W. G. Polack said, among other things, the following: ". . . although the poem is not without some of the flaws and weaknesses usually found in efforts of this sort, in general his work is acceptable. . . . especially praiseworthy is the author's orthodox position. . . ." Lutheran Witness, Vol. 58 (March 21, 1939), p. 105.

[88] Ackermann's From the Cross (B 5), Burry's The Shadow of the Cross (B 141), Poppen's From Bethany to Calvary (B 969), Schillinger's At the Cross (B 1105), and two titles of Edward Schramm What Shall I do with Jesus (B 1146) and The Centrality of the Cross (B 1144).

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The Voice of Action (B 191), *With the King's Embassy* (B 192), and *Into the West* (B 193). Paul E. Kretzmann treated more Biblical themes, occasionally writing about missionary life. Kretzmann, like Correll, had six works published during the 1930's. They were *In the Days of Solomon* (B 571), *Love not the World* (B 573), *Missionary Stories for Young People* (B 574), *The Mountain School* (B 575), *The Pot of Gold and other Missionary Stories* (B 576). In addition, Kretzmann also published a biography of an explorer-missionary, *John Ludwig Krapf* (B 572).

The American Lutheran Church and the Lutheran Book Concern endeavored to support the missionary concerns and areas of all the merged synods; however, the zeal and the output of the former Iowa Synod predominated through the books of Beiderbecke (B 69), Flierl (B 266, B 267), and F. Brown (B 117, B 118). The only former Ohio Synod representative was Sheatsley (B 1209), and his contribution was very early in the decade and rather general in content.

Among serious theological titles of the 1930's as a category of publication, the book by Hantz entitled *Faith and Sight* (B 409) should be mentioned again. Although the edition was published for the author and financed by him, the work was a serious theological essay beyond denominational and confessional frames of reference. Klueppel (B 559) and Bergendoff (B 76), too, have already been noted in this category; but as significant theological books of the 1930's, three more titles should be added to this group: Braulick's *Principles of Christian Faith* (B 115), *Isms, New and Old* by Bodensieck (B 108), and *Erinnerungen und Gedanken* by Siefkes (B 1233a).

Principles of Christian Faith was an autobiographical narrative, replete with personal recollections from Germany, but also tracing the genesis of theological awareness and religious growth of a pastor. The

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most interesting of these theological titles was Isms, New and Old. Bodensieck, later editor of the Lutheran Encyclopedia, demonstrated his literary skill in a lively critique of Christian Science, Russelism, Mormonism, Unitarianism, Theosophy, and Communism. It remains a question why the "Isms" were delimited to these six when scores of others were either more sectarian or more dominant in American society of the 1930's. The coverage was definitely slanted toward a strong conviction that all six "Isms" were theological errors and toward a strong notion that Lutheranism alone was to be considered truth beyond proof.

Three titles among the theological publications of the 1930's were Biblical studies: Ackerman published a group of essays on the Bible in Shakespeare (B 4), Sheatsley discussed and defended the Bible in Religious Education (B 1215), and in another book, Self-instructed Bible Study (B 1228), he introduced the Bible as an object for the independent pursuit of learning.

Schonting's management of the House in the 1940's may have decreased the profit which the church received from the publishing house, it may have run the Wartburg Press into debts, it may have started off uneconomic ventures, but in terms of output of new publications this decade compared favorably with the 1930's and the 1950's. One hundred and forty-nine new books were published, averaging about fifteen books a year. Thirty-eight of these were adult titles, while one hundred and eleven were juveniles.

Among the popular devotional and meditative works, aside from those noted by Dell (B 215) and Young (B 1376), three more were added to the array of earlier publications: Schramm's A Knock at Your Door (B 1148), Pflueger's Learning to Pray (B 949), and Michelfelder's So You are Thinking (B 820). The last title was a strange combination of spiritual advice and counseling about marriage, parenthood, divorce, and the making of a will. Similar in content to his So You are Thinking was a collection of sermons by Michelfelder entitled Life Adjustments (B 819a). Here again, advice in sex, psychology, and interpersonal relations was offered within a religious context.

During this decade, the Wartburg Press published two sermon collections, which were issued in 1940.[89]

A number of titles issued at this time belabored the old themes of Lutheranism quite successfully; they were books like What Lutherans Believe (B 1151), What Lutherans are Thinking (B 249), The Churches' Social Ministry (B 9c), The Spirit of American Lutheran Church (B 133). Furthermore, some well written exegetical titles must be noted here.[90] An especially sophisticated essay published in 1942 was a study of the Relations of ~~the~~ Passion Plays to St Ephrem ~~the~~ Syrian(B 789) and another specialized and probably much needed book was The Preacher's Voice (B 194), a reference work on voice development and preservation as well as effective preaching and speaking. The authors of the two last works, Craig and Sokolovsky, were professors at Capital University.

Although Schonting placed a high value on academic pursuits, he also saw the importance of the practical and useful in church work; under his leadership appeared such books as Church Posters and Publicity (B 1203), Pension Plan for Ministers (B 913c), The Minister's Manual (B 838), and Games for Young People (B 283), a collection of more than a

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[89] These were Our Great Salvation and the Centrality of the Cross (B 1150) by W. E. and E. W. Schramm, and To Live is Christ by Matzner (B 805).

[90] The Old Testament Commentaries were written by Leupold (B 655, B 656, B 657, B 658, B 659) and The Gospel According to Saint Luke by Gast (B 288).

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hundred games for indoor activities. Furthermore, under his auspices, the American Lutheran Church published an Altar Service Book (B 9a) and a Liturgy and Agenda (B 9d); both were needed tools for the ministers in public worship. Neither did Schonting neglect the various missions of the church; with Hans Egede (B 1128), Early Missionary Endeavors (B 857) , and We Found Them Wanting (B 278), missionary work was extolled, and with Our Eyes Were Opened (B 786), the chaplaincy received attention. During his decade, a "first" was published: a book for the improvement and enrichment of the laborer's life. You That Labor (B 667) was a short but well-intentioned and sympathetic work without, however, any intention to improve the laborer's lot or fate in this world.

The greatest bulk of books published in the decade of the 1940's were juveniles, which outnumbered adult titles three to one. Knowing the role of art work and design in children's books, and believing the appearance of a book to be an important selling factor, Schonting secured the services of an artist. He hoped to recapture the juvenile market and achieve substantial financial gains. As we shall see, these hopes did not materialize and the Press lost money on most juvenile publications.

The decade of Schonting offered unique opportunities to a large number of authors in the juvenile field, although only two authors used this opportunity extensively, publishing fifteen and sixteen titles respectively. Most of them issued a single or few titles. Altogether, there were forty-six authors who made contributions to the publication of books for younger readers at the Wartburg Press under Schonting.

Marion Poppen Athy published about fifteen titles during this decade and a few years preceding. The number of her publications can be questioned due to lax publishing practices.[91]

A writer with greater creativity and range of appeal, writing for boys and girls from ten years to high school age, was Julia Lestarjette Glover. She produced sixteen titles, most of which had interesting and edifying plots; some were based on Biblical material.[92]

Next to Athy and Glover in numerical production ranked Marian Black with eleven titles,[93] W. G. Polack with seven titles,[94] Elsa Gorham Baker with five titles,[95] Irma Hegel with five titles,[96] Olive V. Marsh with three titles.[97]

Two titles each were written by J. H. Bell (B 72, 73), Agnes M. Biddle-Dell (B 83, 84), Elizabeth Bjork (B 87, 88), Emily Hutson Glover (B 305, 306), Alice Whitson Norton (B 909, 910), and May Hall Thompson (B 1304, 1305). One title each was contributed by twenty-seven authors.[98]

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[91] Most of her titles (B 28-43) were without imprint dates. According to records of production, chronologically they ranged from 1938-1949. Some discrepancies of publishing further undermine the total contributions of Athy. For example, The Story Chest (B 42) with hard cover was entitled Happy Days in limp cover edition. Story Time, according to contents, is very similar to Story Chest. Both consist of borrowed but unidentified material.

[92] The Glover titles were Angels Unawares (B 307); Bell of the Neighborhood Shop (B 308); Briarwood Girls (B 309); Christmas at Ormistead Hall (B 310); Christmas Candles (B 311); Christmas Sunshine (B 312); The Cottage Shop (B 313); David of Stony Farm (B 314); Little Sir Robin (B 315); The Lord Will Provide (B 316); My Story on the Mountain Top (B 317); The Neighborhood Shop (B 318); Peggy's Christmas Box (B 319); Silver Trumpets (B 320); True to Her King (B 321); Unto the Hills (B 322).

[93] See B 90-B 100 in the Checklist.

[94] See B 954-B 960 in the Checklist.

[95] See B 53-B 57 in the Checklist.

[96] See B 422, B 426-B 429 in the Checklist.

[97] See B 800-B 802 in the Checklist.

[98] Adele S. Bailey (B 52), Florence L. Bush (B 144), Lettie Duncan Cooke (B 184), Lovesta D. Davis (B 209), Clark Duncan (B 230), L. E.

The routine procedures with these publications and authors were with considerable similarities but, if a book sold well, repeated printings might reach up to 18,000 and even 20,000 copies in total. Some of the authors of the juvenile literature were amateurs, others were professionals, most of them were non-Lutherans, and many of them were from the South. A contract agreement with the Press was first offered by the manager; that is, a direct sale of the manuscript and rights was negotiated without a provision for royalty payment. The common price for a manuscript ranged from $20 to $40. Many authors, however, insisted upon a royalty arrangement which yielded more if the book sold well.

Typical authors among those listed above were Cora Pinkley-Call and Alice Whitson Norton. Cora Pinkley-Call was a housewife of Eureka Springs, Arkansas, who, in addition to juvenile fiction, wrote poetry and historical material. She was an active member and founder of the Ozark Writers and Artists Guild. The Wartburg Press bought from her two manuscripts, Shifting Sands and Dream Gardens, which were published in the mid-1940's.

The other author mentioned as a typical writer of juveniles was Alice Whitson Norton of Tennessee, who styled herself as author, song, story, and verse writer, critic, and speaker. She had no confessional affiliation with the Lutheran Church and did not seek to write in a Lutheran frame of mind. As a result, some of her manuscripts had to be

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Eubanks (B 244), W. V. Garrett (B 287), Bunny Gehrman (B 290), Myrtle G. Hadtka (B 377), Kathleen Hay (B 420), W. F. Hertel (B 446), Conrad Hoyer (B 472), Maud C. Jackson (B 489), M. Q. Johnson (B 575), Rose B. Johnston(B 516), Irene La Wall (B 610), Mildred C. Luckhardt (B 754), Greta Martin (B 803), Clara Patten (B 931), Stella Peterson (B 938), Marcus Rieke (B 1064), Edwin T. Randall (B 988), Karl Rest (B 1004), Bessie Schiff (B 1104), Roscoe G. Scott (B 1202), Amalia Tressel (B 1314), and Lois Wedel (B 1343).

revised by the editors. In *Cheery Mary* (B 909), for example, she included episodes of faith healing and miraculous prayer power, which the Lutheran churches could not accept. Mr. Dornbirer, in reporting the manuscript, suggested that

> the author's conception of the efficacy of prayer needs revision, also the last 5 or 6 paragraphs of the story, where the recovery of Cheery Mary is made too miraculous, should be revised.[99]

Another manuscript reader of the Board of Publication, the Rev. August Baetke, reacted even more sharply to another non-Lutheran concept, namely, earned righteousness.

> A story like this reflects the rather pitiful attitude towards "doing good" and the meeting of social problems, and I do not think that we should foster the childish idea that difficulties will just vanish before the efforts of a kind and good heart.

As an exponent of the Lutheran doctrine of salvation, Baetke did not favor the publication of *Cheery Mary*.[100]

It must be said that these doctrinal matters were not the only flaws found by the Lutheran editors and manuscript readers. Alice Norton was a poor speller and, while her plots were interesting, the quality of her prose was poor. The Rev. August Baetke, in his opinion about *On the Other Side of Baldy* (B 910), made a recommendation that "it will benefit by a thorough going over as far as language is concerned,"[101] and Dornbirer found that "some dictional and several ethical

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[99] *Report on Manuscript Under Consideration.* (Evaluation Form) *Cheery Mary* by Alice Whitson Norton. Dated May 4, 1942. A. H. Dornbirer unsigned, Archives Collection, Augsburg Publishing House.

[100] *Report on Manuscript Under Consideration.* (Evaluation Form) [On] *The Other Side of Baldy* by Alice Whitson Norton. Dated July 26, 1943. Signed August Baetke, Archives Collection, Augsburg Publishing House.

[101] *Report on Manuscript Under Consideration.* (Evaluation Form) [On] *The Other Side of Baldy* by Alice Whitson Norton. Dated July 26, 1943. Signed August Baetke, Archives Collection, Augsburg Publishing House.

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changes should be made" before this manuscript would be ready for publishing.[102]

In spite of all the misgivings of the manuscript readers, and in spite of the shortcomings in theology and spelling, Norton's compositions were improved, tailored, and prepared for printing. Cheery Mary was published in 1944 and On the Other Side of Baldy in 1945.

The large volume of juvenile publishing in the 1940's was partially dictated by financial motives. The Wartburg Press needed a profitable publishing market and the juveniles were expected to provide exactly that. Those hopes did not materialize; for some titles there were small profit margins, but for the most the loss was obvious even without cost accounting. The Press appears to have been totally unrealistic in pricing the books and in giving unreasonably large discounts. War caused inflation and the climbing cost of labor and material militated against the efforts to retain pre-war prices. Good examples of loss due to underpricing were Cheery Mary and On the Other Side of Baldy.[103]

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[102] Report on Manuscript Under Consideration. (Evaluation Form) The Other Side of Baldy by Alice Whitson Norton. Dated March 23, 1943. Signed A. H. Dornbirer, Archives Collection, Augsburg Publishing House.

[103] The Wartburg Press tried to keep the 35¢ price for the 94-page juveniles. In wholesale, this meant 20¢ per copy for a book which had cost 18.7¢ to produce without including overhead costs. The predicament was exemplified in a report from the production department to Manager Shonting.

	Cheery Mary	On the Other Side of Baldy
Numbers manufactured	6,505	6,050
Numbers sold	6,366	6,043
Cost of printing, binding	$1239.85	$1131.35
Total Sales Receipts	1349.28	1275.95
Profit	109.43	55.40
Royalties to Author	134.93	92.60
Loss	25.50	37.20

The note also stated that 3500 copies of On the Other Side of Baldy were sold for 20¢ per copy wholesale. Cost per copy of Cheery Mary was 19¢

It may be that a price increase was impossible under the circumstances. Absence of data on the consumer market for books in the 1940's leaves open the possibility that competing merchandise such as periodicals, comics, or mass-produced juveniles may have prohibited price hikes for the Wartburg Press publications.

It is quite certain, furthermore, that the constituents objected to any increase in prices and threatened to patronize other religious publishing houses and secular establishments if prices did not remain the same. In one of the last reports during Schonting's management, the Board of Publication addressed the following remarks to the church:

> As our sales grew, our percentage of profits dwindled and, finally, in our most recent fiscal year we showed a sizeable loss. Such a situation calls for close scrutiny. Here are some facts to consider: (1) There has been widespread criticism and complaints when prices were increased; (2) There has been widespread dissatisfaction with quality of service rendered by the publishing house; (3) The policy of reducing the number of items on which discounts are allowed to pastors has been vigorously attacked; (4) Congregations, encouraged by pastors to do so, have found it more convenient and more profitable to patronize local establishments of secular ownership and also other religious publishing houses.[104]

The supplement to the same report elaborates on the four criticisms and gives the impression that the Wartburg Press had great difficulties in public relations.

After the resignation of Daniel Schonting, the volume of book publishing was severely cut, and the juvenile publications were very few. Among these few juvenile titles published in the 1950's, those of

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and On the Other Side of Baldy 18.7¢. This estimate found on an untitled manuscript note, unsigned, undated. Archives Collection, Augsburg Publishing House.

[104] Supplementary Report of Board of Publication 1948 (not dated). First line: "The audited statement of the Wartburg Press. . . ." The quotation above is on the second page of the thirteen-page report. Archives Collection, Augsburg Publishing House.

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G. J. Neumann were prominent. He wrote *The Wonder of Long Ago* (B 883), *The Star and the Stall* (B 882), and *The Door That Walked Away* (B 880); for pre-school children he wrote *The Golden ABC for God's Little Ones* (B 881). Neumann had previously published *A Book of Prayers for Boys and Girls* (B 877), which was republished in the 1950's (B 878).[105]

Besides Neumann, two other authors each contributed a title: Maud Jackson wrote *Joe Clown's Trix* (B 490) and Mrs. Oscar Tressel, *Three Kerchiefs* (B 1316).

It is apparent that publishing for young people in the 1950's was mainly in curriculum series. The curriculum materials of the Wartburg Press were artistically well designed and richly illustrated. The curriculum editors experimented with innovations and unorthodox forms. The *Bible Story Time* by Marie Shupe (B 1232), for example, was published on cards.

Most certainly the output of book publishing was affected by the anticipated merger. As committee work progressed, the Wartburg Press tried not to duplicate any title which the Augsburg Publishing House had issued or intended to issue. In the same way, the Augsburg Publishing House coordinated its publishing activities to avoid unnecessary competition. As an unwritten but understood division of areas of responsibility, the Wartburg Press continued its curriculum series in full force, while the Augsburg Publishing House expanded its forte--the publication of monographs.

Only twenty-four books were published during the last decade of the Wartburg Press, not counting the curriculum materials and the few

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[105] Also, Augsburg Publishing House republished this title in the early 1960's, see (B 879).

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juveniles mentioned above.

The most noteworthy of the few authors who wrote for the Wartburg Press was Dr. William A. Poovey. His first book, issued in the 1950's, was entitled Problems that Plague the Saints (B 964), which continued the basic theme of Questions that Trouble Christians (B 965), published in 1946. Both titles appealed to readers, not only because the titles purported to counsel in dilemmas of life and faith, but also because Poovey's style was colloquial and his theology simple. A similar book, containing smaller reference items, was William N. Emch's work, The Question Box (B 239). The author had chosen 170 of the most provocative questions from the "Question Box of Readers" he had answered in the Lutheran Standard for twenty-five years. In 1954, another title of Poovey appeared, No Hands but Ours (B 963), which discussed lay responsibility and stewardship. In 1961, Poovey published another book through the Augsburg Publishing House, Your Neighbor's Faith; a Lutheran Looks at Other Churches (B 966).

Although the above works by Poovey may originally have been topical sermons or addresses, readers viewed them as books of popular theology.

Among sermon materials published by the Press for the season of Lent or for pulpit use were: Facing the Cross by Stanley Schneider (B 1130); Our Hearts Rejoice, sermons by twenty-four Lutheran pastors, edited by John E. Meyer (B 817); and It is True by Martin E. Hollensen (B 464).

Likewise, several books were issued for devotional needs during the final decade of the Wartburg Press. An interesting devotional was Thine Forever by August G. Suechting (B 1279), who compiled 366 prayers for youth by Lutheran leaders, all based on the catechism.

Many inspiring examples of prayer and a discussion about the subject of prayer were given by Allegra McBirney in A Compass for Prayer

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(B 787a) and Eleoner Bockelman in Bread for Her Day (B 101). The last devotional was addressed to women and their particular needs. Another title for the same group of readers was Even as You and I by Nelle Wahler Kulow (B 600), containing fifteen sketches on the women of the Bible.

For strengthening the congregation in their service to the church and worship, the Press published Thank God for the Church (B 445), compiled by Heins, and Holy Communion by Becker (B 67). The Holy Communion was actually a revised publication of a 1929 edition.

In the field of Biblical study, there were the three previously mentioned commentaries of Leupold: Exposition to Psalms (B 658), Exposition of Zechariah (B 659), and Exposition of Ecclesiastes (B 656). Somewhat less scholarly, but well written, was Case Histories From the Files of Dr. Luke by Varner (B 1329), an interpretation in modern narrative form of St. Luke's healing stories. The Bible Reading Guide by Young (B 1374) was a systematic guide to the contents of the Bible.

During the 1950's, the Wartburg Press also published three practical books written for those concerned with special fields of church work; each of them was authored by an official of the church. Marcus Rieke, with the help of Gordon Huffman, wrote From Plight to Power (B 1063), a book to guide and direct youth leaders. Eleanor Bockelman addressed another book to women, The Stewardess (B 103); and her husband, Wilfred Bockelman, who was on the editorial staff of the House, published a handbook for lay officers of the church, It Will be Your Duty (B 104), aiming to impress church functionaries with the seriousness of their tasks.

In 1959, a reference book was added: a bibliography of Lutheran hymnody, The Singing Church by Edwin Liemohn (B 662). This annotated

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bibliography contained eighty-one works of Lutheran hymnody and was compiled by the Head of the Music Department and Director of the Choir of Wartburg College.

In preparation for the merger and to summarize the thirty years of the American Lutheran Church, several historical and mile-post publications appeared in the 1950's. Some were only pamphlets like Bockelman's The Lutheran Church and Other Churches (B 105), actually a reprint from Lutheran Youth. Some were reprints of several articles, like America's Lutherans by Omar Bonderud and Charles Lutz (B 110), the editors of the One magazine. The merger was discussed also in Unity Begins with You (B 348) by Robert C. Gremmels, attempting to introduce the churches involved in the merger to the average church member.

The most significant title in this literature of self-study was The Formation of the American Lutheran Church by Fred W. Meuser (B 816), who gave the most meticulous theological, historical, and ecclesiological analysis of the components of the merger of 1930. The thoroughness was due to the fact that the book was originally a Ph.D. dissertation for the Yale University.

More spectacular, but superficial, was the 25th anniversary book of the American Lutheran Church, published in 1955, entitled Thank God for the Church (B 445). The large ninety-two page album with pictures, elaborate layouts, and eulogistic texts endeavored to serve as a memento of the American Lutheran Church. Being more a public relations publication than an informative book, it sold poorly and caused the Wartburg Press to lose around $30,000.

Another survey, a 104-page paperback, deserves special mention. At the beginning of the 1950's, The Lutheran Church and the Negro in

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America by Ervin E. Krebs (B 568) was published under the auspices of the Board of American Missions. This laudable attempt to set forth needed action in race relations and Negro missions work was the first of its kind, and thus deserves some praise. Nevertheless, a perusal of the book reveals a pervading prejudice of the author who, though benevolently inclined, cannot accept the black race as equal to the white and, therefore, remains condescending in both the diagnosis and the action he recommends.

C. Publishing in the United Evangelical Lutheran Church, 1917-1960

The actual beginnings of the Lutheran Publishing House go back to 1887, when a group of Danish pastors in the Norwegian Danish Conference founded the *Dansk Luthersk Kirkeblad*. This paper was meant to serve the Danish segment of this synod and was published with the blessing of the Norwegian majority and its leaders.

The Danish group, however, asserted itself in its ethnic tradition and, as home mission congregations were started with Danish members in the majority, a church body, the Danish Evangelical Lutheran Church Association in America, was formed which adopted the *Dansk Luthersk Kirkeblad* as its organ.[106] The records of the early history of the publishing activities in this church are incomplete, and it is difficult to establish exact dates for the beginning and the incorporation of the publishing company. It is known from annual reports that a committee was formed to head, name, and organize a stock company in 1884, and that in 1885 another committee was established for the publication of tracts.[107]

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[106] *A Brief History of Lutheran Publishing House*, n.d., n.p., p. 5.

[107] *Ibid.*, p. 5.

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The Publishing Association, as it was called, took over the newspaper publishing in 1885 and soon also established a mail order book store. In 1891, the church took over the stock company and named a committee of directors. Another committee for the publication of a hymnal was also named, and, as a result, a hymnal, Sangeren, was published in 1892. The first edition of this hymnbook was printed in Denmark, but as a result of its popularity, several subsequent editions were issued in the United States.[108] The first annual report of the Danish Lutheran Church dates back to 1891, when the church (at the time Det Danske Evangelisk Lutherske Kirke Samfund) met in Waupaca, Wisconsin, for its Eighth Annual Conference.[109] This report and subsequent ones were printed by commercial firms in Chicago and Minneapolis.[110] By decision of the Annual Conference in Racine in 1893, the Danish Lutheran Publishing House was brought into existence at Blair, Nebraska, and from 1894 on, the Beretninger (Reports) were printed by the new establishment at Blair.[111]

The early annual reports were crude paperbound volumes, ranging from 48 to 175 pages in small octavo size. Although the paper was of cheap quality and the typography very mediocre, the yearly reports contained a wealth of information.

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[108] Ibid., p. 8.

[109] Beretning om Det danske Evangelisk-Lutherske Kirke, Samfunds 8 de Aarsmøde. Afholdt i Waupaca, Wisconsin fra 3 die til 10de Juni, 1891 (Chicago: Scandinavens Bogtrykkeri, 1891).

[110] The Scandinavens Bogtrykkeri in Chicago and the Oscar Lund trykkeri of Minneapolis respectively.

[111] The imprint of the Annual Report of 1894 does not identify any publisher but does mark the printer Det Danske Evangelish-Luthersk Kirkesamfunds Trykkeri.

The number of imprints averaged from about 2,500-3,000 copies, and after 1925, when the English editions began, a somewhat larger quantity.

Other yearly publications were started as the House added printing machines and developed printing skills. Thus in 1920, a Dansk Almanak was launched and in 1921 the Christmas Chimes. The first was a Danish language family almanac and contained, besides a calendar, informative and edifying articles. In 1952, this publication was replaced by Dansk Nytaar. In 1941, an annual Child's Christmas Chimes was started in addition to Christmas Chimes.

Throughout the years, the presses of the Danish Evangelical Lutheran Publishing House turned out a number of periodicals. The earliest Danish magazines were the Dansk Luthersk Kirkeblad (1877-1920), the Boernebladet (1891-1939) and De Unges Blad (1896-1918). These three periodicals were for a long time the only official publications of the church for its adult, child, and youth readership respectively. One by one the above mentioned Danish publications were replaced by English language periodicals: The Little Lutheran in 1915, Our Lutheran Youth in 1918, and the Ansgar Lutheran in 1927 became the official synodical organs.

The United Danish Evangelical Lutheran Church, moreover, issued two other publications which merit attention because nothing similar was published in the other Lutheran church bodies under study. One of them was the Danskeren, a Danish newspaper (issued since 1892) which the church took over in 1899 and issued weekly (bi-weekly from 1901-1912) until 1920 when it merged with the Dansk Luthersk Kirkeblad to become the Luthersk Ugeblad. The other unusual publication was a quarterly periodical, My Church, directed to the men of the church and serving as publicity arm of the council of the synod. My Church lasted from 1943 to

1952. A short-lived effort was Dansk Ungdomsblad i Amerika (1924-1926), a periodical that was meant to rekindle interest among youth in Danish language and culture.

A financial situation very similar to that of the American Lutheran Church in the 1940's and the Lutheran Free Church Publishing Company, prevailed in the Danish Lutheran Publishing House. The Danes had to begin with borrowed capital and in ten years at Blair (1903) reached an all-time high indebtedness of $36,000.[112] The interest payments drained the profits of the House and severely handicapped book publication. As in other Lutheran synods, the church papers were a financial liability. None of them remained self-supporting and all needed synodical subsidies. The subsidies never covered the entire loss; thus, the Publishing House had to absorb the difference.

The situation was alleviated in 1917 when the United Danish Evangelical Lutheran Church wiped out the indebtedness by a general subscription. The capital raised amounted to more than $29,000. It was, indeed, a commendable effort and established excellent relationships between the Publishing House and the administration of the synod. The good neighbor's role was actually repeated as the church subsidized its lagging periodicals with some $4,000 annually and helped the publishing house to recover from damaging plant fires that took place in 1953, with a loan of $35,000.

When in 1893 the Danish Lutheran Publishing House moved to Blair, Nebraska, it was located in the Trinity Seminary building. The following year, the business moved to rented quarters in a downtown building at

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[112] A Brief History of Lutheran Publishing House, n.d., n.p., p. 9.

Washington and Fifth streets. In 1898, the House bought its own facility on Fifth and Front streets.[113]

As the business volume increased during the next two decades, the Publishing House had to build an addition on an adjoining parcel of land to the east. This new wing accommodated the printing machines on the ground floor and the composing room on the floor above. In 1947, another addition was built to give more space for the machines as the business volume made extended demands upon the facilities.[114]

This growth and development was abruptly stopped when fire destroyed the old building housing the office and the book and paper stock.[115]

The fire damages halted the development of the concern only temporarily. Insurance money and a substantial loan from the synod restored the losses and enabled the business soon to go on as before.

The Danish Lutheran Publishing House was quite fortunate in having good managers and directors, many of whom gave their best years to the House. Especially valuable years of service were offered by managers K. P. Hundahl (1921-1939) and P. A. Magnussen (1939-1953), who contributed most in the growth and development of the House. The managership of O. H. Stuve successfully led the business out of fire losses and efficiently merged the publishing concern with the Augsburg Publishing House in 1960.

The book publications in the United Danish Evangelical Lutheran Church, and after 1946 in the United Evangelical Lutheran Church, were

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[113] *Ibid.*, p. 15

[114] *Ibid.*, pp. 15, 16.

[115] *Ibid.*, p. 16.

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not many and the few that were published were not exceptional. At the outset the titles were, of course, in Danish. A number of them were practical and immediate necessities of corporate worship, some of instruction and evangelism. The Brief History of Lutheran Publishing House lists quite a number of the publications.[116]

Due to the numerically limited editions, their ethnic and parochial use and the repeated fires at the Publishing House which destroyed its stocks, not many of these publications have survived. A search for the early hymnals yielded only one, Salmebog for Kirke og Hjem (B 1323d).

Around the turn of the century, the Danish Lutheran Publishing House published a number of non-religious historical novels by Carl Ewald and Bernhard Severin Ingemann. A search for Carl Ewald's novels has been very disappointing. Neither copies nor traces of these titles were found in catalogues of the cooperating libraries, nor in national bibliographies. The novels of Ingemann were found in the libraries of Dana and Augsburg Colleges.[117]

The whole time span from 1917-1960 is lean in book production. In the monographic publication line, there were only about two dozen titles in total, not including pamphlets under fifty pages. Among the twenty-four titles are included curriculum materials on the Small Catechism (B 765, B 771a, B 771b) and a Bible history (B 1323a).

All of the above curriculum materials for confirmation classes were translations of Danish originals edited by Carl Frederik Balslev, an esteemed bishop of the Lutheran State Church of Denmark.

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[116] Ibid., p. 26.

[117] Four novels of Bernhard Severin Ingemann were published by the Danish Lutheran Publishing House: Valdemar Sejer (1901), Prins Otto af Danmark (1902), Kong Erik og de Fredloese (1902), Erik Menveds Barndom (1902).

None of these publications were the creative expressions of the spiritual life and thought of the United Evangelical Danish Lutheran Church. The titles were representative of the effort to transplant the ecclesiastical tradition of the old country into the new. Bishop Balslev assumed here the role which Sverdrup and Lache played among the Norwegian Lutherans and Wilhelm Loehe among the Iowa Synod German Lutherans.

The other personalities of the old country dear to the Danes were first republished in America and then translated into English by popular demand. Here again the similarities with the other ethnic groups appear: for Norwegians had their Hallesby, the Germans--their Franke, and the Swedish--their Rosenius.

The personalities to whom the Danes had a strong attachment were Olfert Ricard, a vigorous Danish youth leader, and Carl Axel Skovgaard-Petersen, a well-known Danish theologian.

Both authorities had published extensively in Denmark and their works were imported and sold extensively in this country. When Danish was replaced by English, especially among the young, the Danish Lutheran Publishing House saw to it that the most popular of Ricard's and Skovgaard-Petersen's works were published in translation. Thus appeared Christ and His Men by Ricard (B 1054a), The Book of Youth (B 1241), and the very popular Alone with God (B 1240a) by Skovgaard-Petersen.

The Danes of Blair, Nebraska, also published some fiction. Such were The Dragoon by N. P. Madsen (B 788), Alone in London by Hesba Stretton (B 1270), Nobody Loves Me by Mrs. O. F. Walton (B 1339), and an anonymous Fra Vingaarden (B 272a).

Even the category of wit and humor was represented by a publication. It's a Great Life by Samuel Herforth (B 445f) was a collection of anecdotal stories on the realities of life and the foibles of men.

In 1953, an unusual devotional was published for the sick and afflicted. Under the title I was Sick, the editor Fred C. M. Hansen (B 398a) gathered a volume of thirty short essays as encouragement and therapy for the suffering. The essays were written by Christian doctors from Scandinavian countries. The quality of essays varied; some were good theological and psychological essays, while some were not much more than cheerful greetings. It is certain that some values of style were dulled or lost in translation.

The Women's Missionary Society sponsored the publishing of a practical guide to mission fields and personalities entitled Our Missionaries Far and Near (B 1324). It is obvious that the publication was intended to promote missionary work and to assist the church in raising money for missions.

The need for devotional materials and popular theology was hardly met at all. There were a few books mentioned above which would have served this purpose, especially the books by Skovgaard-Petersen and Ricard. In addition, there was an early efifying study of the Gospel according to St. John in Danish. This book, Hans Herlighed (B 10b), however, was very likely a private publication by Pastor A. M. Anderson. There are no records showing how this title was subsidized. It was sold and distributed by the Publishing House bookstore. There were two other devotional books which were published according to sales catalogs, The Home Altar and The Light in His Window.[118]

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[118] No copy of the Home Altar has been located. The catalog information was not complete enough for its inclusion in our Checklist. The other devotional, The Light in His Window, was located in the Dana College Library. The correspondence with librarian Ronald Johnson took

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Correspondence with the librarian of Dana College, Mr. Ronald Johnson, revealed the existence of two other books, previously not located. One of these is a reading guide to the Bible, the other a book of recollections from fifty years of service to the church. Both books were written by Gottlieb Bender Christianson, a pastor and ex-editor of the Dansk Luthersk Kirkeblad.[119]

One of the most valuable books for those studying Danish Lutheranism published by the Lutheran Book Concern is The Founder of St. Ansgar by Fred H. Swansen (B 1283). It is a very perceptive biography of Claus Laurits Clausen, an early immigrant, pastor, and founder of the Danish Evangelical Lutheran Church. Unfortunately, the entire stock of this title was destroyed by fire except for a few review copies, which were mailed out from the building before the fire consumed the Publishing House.

The total publishing operation of the United Evangelical Lutheran Church was meager in retrospect. The books were few and unexceptional, and the question could well be asked whether the operation was worth the effort and means spent. In 1960, the Chairman of the Board of Publications remarked on the difficult years in the past and the mediocre yield harvested.

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place in October 1970, and thus the information obtained was too late for its inclusion in the Checklist. The devotional The Light in His Window was published under the auspices of the Luther League of the United Evangelical Danish Lutheran Church in 1937 and had 255 pages. There was no author or editor identified in the source.

[119] The two titles are the following:

1. Gottlieb Bender Christiansen, Vink for Gennemlaesning af Bibelen (Blair, Nebraska: Danish Lutheran Publishing House, 1918). (B 167n).
2. Gottlieb Bender Christiansen, Recollections of our Church Work (Blair, Nebraska: Danish Lutheran Publishing House, 1930). (B 167m).

> As we enter the final year of independent operation our emotions are many and varied. Board members, management and staff have struggled through more than 60 years with many problems, monetary losses, material shortages, fire damage and many other trying situations. Some of the present Board members have served continuously for more than 20 years, and it is with a deep sense of gratitude to God that we approach the final year of operation. We give thanks to Him for having had the privilege of sharing in His work. Financial results have not always been good, but the impact of the Printed Word cannot be measured in dollars. Our sincere thanks goes to all who down through the years have contributed time and effort to the operation of Lutheran Publishing House.[120]

D. Publishing in the Lutheran Free Church 1917-1963

The publishing activities in the Lutheran Free Church before the year 1922 were carried out by a private corporation, the Free Church Book Concern, located in Minneapolis, Minnesota. This corporation, organized soon after the formation of the Lutheran Free Church, had declared as its aims to publish and print books and periodicals for the church as well as to act as a retail distributor for books and stationery. The articles of incorporation set the limit of the capital stock at $10,000 and the limit of liability at $3,000. The business was unsuccessful, to say the least. Just a year after its founding, the debt limit was exceeded and year after year the corporation went deeper into debt, reaching a liability total of $38,482.68 at the time of the takeover by the church.[121] On the other hand, the capital stock was never sold to its legal limits. Indeed, stock sales never exceeded 600 shares at ten dollars per share. The manager, O. A. Hain, having received remuneration in the form of stock, gained control of the corporation as the chief stockholder. Shortly before the takeover by the Lutheran Free Church in 1915, O. A.

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[120] United Evangelical Lutheran Church. Yearbook . . . 1960, p. 90.

[121] Lutheran Free Church. Annual Report . . . 1923, p. 114.

Hain owned 354 1/8 shares from the total of 596 shares sold.

The corporation did not excel either in business volume or in quality or number of publications. The gross volume of business slightly exceeded $21,000 in the fiscal year 1917/18,[122] which was an average also for the subsequent years. The publishing output was lean indeed; and as the financial plight forced the management to use the cheapest printing and binding services and materials, the publications were of low quality. The booklist consisted mainly of routine parochial publications. Thus, in the report of 1918, among the publications we find noteworthy only two titles: Michelet's *First Year Norse* and Ibsen's *Terje Viken* (B 483d).[123] Economy dictated cooperation with the Augsburg Publishing House in producing a *Graded Sytem* of Sunday School materials which was completed in the early 1920's.[124]

The publishing activities of the Free Church Book Concern were, however, only one aspect of the business. A considerable investment was made in the bookstore where an inventory of books from various publishers, including foreign, was maintained. In order to profit adequately, the bookstore needed a quick turnover of merchandise freeing the capital for new purchases. But the turnover was not rapid and the inventory was permitted to absorb most of the capital. A slow market blocked this investment and eventually caused a loss as the book stock aged.

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[122] Lutheran Free Church. *Annual Report . . . 1918*, p. 123.

[123] Lutheran Free Church. The *Annual Report . . . 1918*, p. 123 reports the following about old and new publications: "Foelgende boeker har vaeret optrykt: Landstads salmebok i 5,000 eksemplarer, den engelske forklaring 2000, engelske bibelhistorie 2,000, norske bibelhistorie 2000 daabs-og konfirmationsattester 9000, samt Michelets First Year Norse 1000. . . . Nyt forlag er: *Aarsberetningen* 1917 3000, *Folkekalender* 1918 4000 *Julekvad* Nr. 6. 1500, *Ibsen's Terje Viken* med Vocabulary for School use 2000, Festsange Nr. 3. 1000."

[124] *Ibid.*, p. 124.

In 1918, the inventory of books in the store had already reached $28,000; the total liabilities to the publishers and jobbers at the time amounted to $26,000,[125] accrued from books that did not sell. The situation was hopeless as the management did not know how to promote sales or to break the financial deadlock.

O. A. Hain, who was in charge of the management from 1902 until 1922, admitted his inability to salvage the corporation.

As early as 1914, the Annual Conference suggested the formation of a new corporation which would take over the Book Concern and the Folkebladet Publishing Company, publisher of the periodical Folkebladet, and which would operate more directly under the guidance of the church. Proposed articles of incorporation appear in the Annual Report of 1915 to this effect, but without the endorsement of the Annual Conference of 1915.[126] The requests for a takeover were repeated at subsequent Annual Conferences, and although the church was very concerned about the possible bankruptcy of the Book Concern, an outright request was not made for a change of management.

In 1919, another effort was made to spell out the terms of the takeover. The Free Church agreed to assume the responsibility of all the debts of the Book Concern if the stockholders would agree to donate their shares (waive their claims against the corporations) and if all inventory and facilities would be turned over to a new church-related corporation. With the aim of salvaging the Book Concern, the conference elected a committee to oversee, advise, and survey the publishing activities of the Book Concern and to prepare the takeover. The Conference also voted favorably on the motion to permit the Free Church Book Concern to solicit and raise money in the congregations of the Lutheran Free Church with a $10,000 limit, hoping that this fund would save the concern, at least temporarily, from bankruptcy. The Annual Conference of 1919 also voiced a renewed intention to create as soon as possible a non-stock corporation which could take over the concern and the Folkebladet corporations.[127]

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[125] Lutheran Free Church. Annual Report . . . 1919, p. 136.

[126] Lutheran Free Church. Annual Report . . . 1915, p. 144.

In the following years, representatives of the Free Church Book Concern visited congregations and raised $7000 in pledges and some $2500 in cash,[128] but matters grew worse and, as there was no hope for a reversal of the trend, the 1919 motion was carried in 1922, when a Board of Publications was elected and took immediate action.[129]

In view of the long waiting time since 1915, it was indeed a welcome event for the Lutheran Free Church to take over the responsibilities of publishing. With certain gratification, therefore, the first publication of the Annual Report bears the name as publisher the Board of Publication, Lutheran Free Church. Officially, the Lutheran Free Church Publishing Company began operation September 1st, 1922. Because of difficulties with some creditors, the new company did not actually function until February 1923. The transfer of property of the Free Church Book Concern to the Lutheran Free Church Publishing House took place on February 7, and the Folkebladet was taken over on April 30. Both companies were bought for a symbolic one dollar each, releasing the former stockholders of all financial obligations.

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[127] Lutheran Free Church. Annual Report . . . 1919, p. 173.

[128] Lutheran Free Church. Annual Report . . . 1921, p. 137. The $2,500 cash was raised in the year before Annual Report, 1920, p. 121.

[129] Lutheran Free Church. Annual Report . . . 1923, p. 106.

The new corporation met with many difficulties. The new manager, F. S. Kalberg, who had previously managed the Folkebladet Publishing Company, began an energetic salvaging operation. He issued a new sales catalogue and attempted to "stir up new business" among the church people.[130] He established credit in the amount of $7000 through the good will of twenty-three men who signed a guaranty and borrowed another $3000 from the Merchants and Manufacturers State Bank to meet some other pressing financial demands.[131]

Although the balance sheet as of May 1, 1923, seemed to show a balance, most of the assets actually did not exist. The receivables were uncollectable accounts, the inventories were worth only a fraction of the values listed, and the consignments, like the inventories, were merchandise that did not sell.[132] In the following years, manager F. S. Kalberg received shock after shock as the pledged support did not get paid by the church and the Merchants and Manufacturers State Bank closed its doors, taking with it the savings account of the publishing house. The situation did not improve as the official periodicals and publications failed to bring a profit. This hopeless situation was dramatically described by Nils Barlindhaug, President of the Board of Directors in his report to the Annual Conference of 1928:

> On the seventh day of February, five and one-half years ago, a craft christened the Lutheran Free Church Publishing Company was launched onto the turbulent waters of commercialism. There was no celebration in connection with the launching. It was an old

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[130] Ibid., p. 116.

[131] Ibid., pp. 107, 115.

[132] Ibid., p. 115.

> dilapidated ship with hardly anything left of its former self except the name plate, and even that was speedily eliminated by the new owners. Its sails were ragged, its rudder cracked and its hull, a sieve of worm-eaten timbers. To compete with modern vessels in such a derelict state seemed indeed hopeless. . . . To start a business without money and with tremendous debt hanging like a millstone around one's neck is not exactly a Sunday School picnic.[133]

In spite of the indebtedness and sluggish business, the work had to go on as the regular needs of the church for printed matter had to be met. In the process, a change of location was also attempted,[134] as Barlindhaug in the same report deemed it one of the three most important needs of the Lutheran Free Church Publishing Company. For the business health of the corporation he prescribed, in addition to the payment of liabilities, new quarters and new machinery.

Naturally, the new purchase caused the corporation to go deeper into debt, and therefore, Barlindhaug requested an immediate payment of the $19,000 from the church which had been promised by the previous Annual Conferences. Indeed, the Annual Conference of 1924 had voted to contribute $4000 annually for the following five years, but, by 1928, the church had donated only $7000 and thus was in arrears $9000.[135] The liabilities of the corporation, however, were neither solely inherited nor caused by some improvement efforts of the management; a good share of losses were caused by the church periodicals: Folkebladet, the Messenger, and the Child's Friend. The unpaid subscriptions for these publications amounted to a total of $12,691.94 as of April 30, 1928.[136]

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[133] Lutheran Free Church. Annual Report . . . 1928, pp. 85, 86.

[134] Ibid., p. 86.

[135] Ibid., p. 87.

[136] Ibid., p. 87.

The difficulty of the situation and the apparently hopeless future caused a quick turnover of the committee membership, because few individuals were willing to serve long terms under these circumstances. There was also a change of managers. F. S. Kalberg, succeeding O. A. Hain (1902-1922), served only four years (1923-1926), and J. A. Sund lasted only a year (1927). Starting in 1928, however, Carsten J. Endresen persisted for a longer time (1928-1936), but Alfred Adsem served after him only from 1937-1940. Beginning in 1941, a very energetic manager, A. B. Batalden, renewed battle on behalf of the deficit-ridden business. He was persistent and lasted longer than any other manager after O. A. Hain. Batalden tried many new ideas in order to turn the business tide. In 1946, the name of the Lutheran Free Church Publishing Company was changed to Messenger Press. The name change took place as part of the renovation and modernization of the business. The sales department of the Messenger Press, the Book Shoppe, was moved to the campus of Augsburg College and later to an adjacent location at 2120 Riverside Avenue (1944). When the new Lutheran Free Church headquarters was established on this site in 1950, the Messenger Press occupied the ground floor. The completely remodeled facilities provided modern and efficient stock, office, and sales areas. The printing establishment remained on 264 Cedar Avenue until it was sold in 1954. Thereafter, all printing was contracted with local Minneapolis printing firms. All of the changes and efforts were futile; the indebtedness was decreased, but this happened slowly. On the other hand, business did not improve as much as Batalden had hoped.

In the year 1954, the printing department, including building, equipment, and inventory was sold. The church continued the operation of the retail bookstore under the management of Miss Ruby Peterson until the

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merger in 1963. Surprisingly, the bookstore operation succeeded well, and a yearly profit further decreased the indebtedness. The liabilities were eradicated fully when the Messenger Press was liquidated in 1963. The proceeds of the sales provided several thousand dollars surplus, which was turned over to Augsburg Publishing House as a fund to provide for the writing and the publication of a history of the Lutheran Free Church.[137]

Although the publishing establishment of the Lutheran Free Church was set up as a business organization like any publishing house of large volume production, and although Boards met and reports were given, the book publishing was meager and most of the business volume was in the sale of titles issued by other publishers and in the publication of periodicals. The claims frequently voiced by the manager and the Board of Publications ascribing to the business of the company a unique role and mission seem to have been exaggerated. Thus, in 1925, the president of the Board of Directors interpreted the role of church-related publishing as a Christian arsenal in battling the world and assured the church that ministry without literature of "religious tone" was like a workman without tools. Ironically, he could not cite any significant titles published for battling the world; he continued to give statistics about congregations that were deprived of the "benefits" of the periodicals and the annual reports.[138]

It is obvious that the above report, composed with the aim of raising money, was not realistic in appraising the contributions of the Free Church Publishing Company, and that it failed to conceive properly the needs of readers and the essence of significant publishing.

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[137] Interview with the last Chairman of the Board of Publication, the Rev. Paul Sonnack, Professor at Luther Theological Seminary, St. Paul, Minnesota, on October 4, 1970.

[138] Lutheran Free Church. Annual Report . . . 1925, p. 100.

The actual contributions of the Messenger Press as publisher were as meager as those of the Danish Lutheran Publishing House. It published a minimum of curriculum materials and periodicals, occasional devotionals and sermon collections, exegetical writings and popular theology titles. The only excellent titles were published in the area of church history. In a way, the Messenger Press, as a publisher, was a micro image of the larger sister establishments. It did its routine performance in supplying the church with the most necessary materials and performed the basic service functions, but never had either the means nor the potential market for doing something special or exciting.

The Lutheran Free Church was also typical in dealing with the language problem. Like the Danish and the German Lutherans, the Norwegian Lutherans attempted to preserve their language along with their religious tradition. As it will be seen, the beginning years surveyed in this study are still foreign language years--the Norwegian language is predominant. The English language took hold in the 1920's, gained yearly, until by the 1930's the Norwegian books had become an insignificant minority.

In the four years from 1917-1920, only a few books were published, most of them with soft covers and on poor paper. A number, without a publisher identified, were printed by the Folkebladets printshop and were probably private publications or premiums for the periodical. One of such unidentifiable books was Sjaelens Stemninger (Moods of the Soul) by Mrs. J. Svenson (B 1282a); others were Menigheten (The Congregation) by E. M. Hanson (B 402), and Veien I Lammets Spor by G. Steinberger (B 1259c). Without doubt, a commissioned publication was the Trefoldighets Menighet

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Minneapolis, Minnesota 1868-1918 (Trinity Congregation of Minneapolis, Minnesota) (B 1313a), the history of a congregation. Undoubtedly, a subscription premium was Jerold Fern's The Struggle of a Prince (B 249a). Another non-Free Church Book Concern publication was Den Lutherske Frikirkes Missionsopgaver (B 774 b), a book sponsored by a mission committee. Clearly identifiable as Free Church Book Concern titles were Bjoernson's Synnoeve Solbakken (B 89a), a textbook for Norwegian language study, and two music publications: Hymns From Landstad (B 24) and Festsange for den Lutherske Frikirkes Ungdoms Forbund (B 445c).

There was another small book, Hymnal for Sunday Schools and Young People's Societies (B 1241b), compiled by Sletten, possibly from the same time period but without imprint date. Three other books are unidentifiable as to dates of publishing, but can likewise be presumed to be early. Perhaps the earliest of these is John Bunyan's Pilegrims Vandering (B 134a), a translation into Norwegian of Pilgrim's Progress. This edition does not identify the translator nor the text in English from which it was translated. It is likely that the Free Church Book Concern publication was a reprint of a J. C. Winston Norwegian edition in 1892 or another edition from Norway.

The other two publications without imprint date were the Sangbok of M. Bjoernson (B 89c), a Norwegian and English hymnal, and Legems og Hustankerne hos Paulus by Johan Roedvik (B 1070b), a theological essay on the body and the family concepts in the thought of the apostle Paul.

The 1920's were the most productive years in the history of the Lutheran Free Church publishing. The ten years produced more titles than the other decades under study combined. Yet, even in the 1920's, the array of publications was bleak and inconspicuous. There were many promotional titles such as Augsburg Seminary and the Lutheran Free Church (B 664a), In Foreign Fields (B 220a), Lutheran Free Church Handbook (B 774), Missionary Album (B 774d), and Indremissionsprester i Storbyen (Innermission pastors in a metropolis) (B 896). One promotion publication was unrelated to the church. This was the centennial souvenir edition of Norse-American Women (B 365a), a symposium of prose and poetry. A similar ninety-six page centennial publication, Norse-American Centennial 1825-1925, was printed by Augsburg Publishing House for the Norse-American Centennial Committee as publisher.

The most significant publications during the 1920's were two paperback books by the well-known Norwegian theologian, O. Hallesby. In 1923, the Lutheran Free Church Book Concern published his Opdragelses-Kristendom og Vaekkelses-Kristendom (B 385b), which was republished during the following year in English in a modified form as Infant Baptism and Adult Conversion (B 384a). The English title cannot be considered a translation from the Norwegian because it used the Norwegian text freely and excluded parts with local significance.[139]

The 1920's produced further a biography (B 49a), a confirmation book (B 380), a travelogue (B 113a), some revised editions of old established titles (B 601b, B 995b), and an unusual anthology compiled by students of Oak Grove High School of Fargo, North Dakota, as a Christmas publication for the church (B 65). Also, with a Folkebladet Publishing Company imprint, another travelogue was published (B 1067a) in the 1920's, very likely as a premium to subscribers of Folkebladet.

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[139] The title "Christianity through Education and Christianity through Conversion" was directed to the state and free church controversy in Norway.

The 1930's saw publishing considerably curtailed as a result of the Depression and the debt of the concern. Among the few notable publications of the decade was Evjen's The Life of J. H. W. Stuckenberg (B 247a), a biography of a social action minded Lutheran pastor. It was an unusual book when compared to the other publications of the concern in that it is voluminous and scholarly and, also, in that it deals with a Lutheran who was not a pietist or Norwegian nor a member of the Lutheran Free Church. It appears that this biography was printed in a few hundred copies, with a substantial subsidy by the widow of Stuckenberg given to the writer and the publisher. The author was, at the time, professor at Augsburg College and Theological Seminary, an institution affiliated with the Lutheran Free Church.

Another biography in 1933 proved to be popular reading as it was written in an uncomplicated narrative form with extensive dialogues. This was the biography of Hans Nielsen Hauge, entitled The Apostle of Norway, by Arnliot Mattias Arntzen (B 23a). As a pioneer and instigator of the free church movement in Norway, Hauge was, in a special way, a spiritual father of the Lutheran Free Church.

Another publication merits attention as it deals with a central preoccupation of the Lutheran Free Church, namely, the doctrine of sanctification or Christian perfection. John A. Houkom translated from the Norwegian Ludvig Hope's Sanctification, a Discussion of Evangelical Christian Living (B 468a).

The other publications were nothing unusual: a sermon collection in Norwegian (B 358), a Biblical history (B 1327a), and a translation of a devotional published in the 1920's (B 1259b). In addition to these titles by the concern, the Lutheran Board of Missions of the Lutheran

Free Church published Christ or Satan by Arthur Olson (B 920). It expressed a surprisingly primitive religious concept of healing and regarded exorcism with scriptural proof-texts as an acceptable and needed form of pastoral care among the Malagasy.

The 1940's was actually the last decade of Lutheran Free Church book publishing. Under the imprint of the Messenger Press and the leadership of Abner Batalden, the publications were few, but exceptional compared to those in the past.

An outstanding embodiment of the spiritual legacy of the Lutheran Free Church tradition was an essay collection by Bernhard M. Christensen entitled Fire Upon the Earth (B 166b). Christensen, at the time president of Augsburg College, was in the mainstream of the church and exerting vigorous leadership. Christensen fully embraced the ideological foundations of the Lutheran Free Church; however, he differed from the majority of the church members of this body in his ecumenical and academic ideas. Whereas the church in general lived in self-chosen isolation and was suspicious of inter-Lutheran and ecumenical encounters, Christensen sought interfaith and ecumenical contacts. Whereas the average congregation and its members adhered to certain patterns of personal piety and observed certain forms of worship, neglecting social responsibility, except for foreign and home missions, Christensen interpreted the inherited faith as a mainspring for action. In his book, Fire Upon the Earth, he advocated both, the piety and lay-oriented fellowship in the congregations and the social responsibility of the individual and the congregation toward the suffering society and the world. Unlike the Lutheran Free Church leaders of his day, Christensen was convinced that the Bible not only contained the truth that made man free but also that man had to seek truth in diligent pursuits of his mind and will, and that academic scholarship was an extension of this search for truth. The idea was prevalent in the Free Church that the truth, once discovered and expressed in doctrines, had simply to be accepted as formulated, and that the consent and acceptance of the proper formulae were synonymous with personal salvation.

Another outstanding publication of the same year was The Years of Our Church by Clarence J. Carlsen (B 148). This historical survey of the Lutheran Free Church was for years the best source for the study of its principles, progress, and practices. Only recently this history has been superseded by another written by Eugene L. Fevold entitled The Lutheran Free Church.[140] Carlsen, like Christensen, was an ideological leader of the church. He was somewhat more conservative and less ecumenical in his outlook than Christensen, but he also saw the Lutheran Free Church heritage as a rich spiritual legacy that was inherited not for an isolated existence but for vital contacts and interdenominational cooperation. Although Carlsen advocated inter-Lutheran contacts and merging programs in a federated relationship, he was later a bitter foe of the merger in The American Lutheran Church. The two titles were praised very highly by readers, and both titles sold out rapidly. The recognition of their excellence was justly made by the manager in his report to the Annual Conference in 1942.[141]

In addition to these two excellent books for the study of the Lutheran Free Church, another title should have special mention for the

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[140] Eugene L. Fevold, The Lutheran Free Church: a fellowship of American Lutheran Congregations 1897-1963 (Minneapolis: Augsburg Publishing House, c1969).

[141] Lutheran Free Church. Annual Report . . . 1942, p. 85.

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same purpose. One of the most powerful minds and leaders of the church was Georg Sverdrup. He was definitely the founder and initiator of the Lutheran Free Church, although the ideas for the movement may have come from the Norwegian pietists and especially from Hans Nielsen Hauge. Sverdrup was the ideological spokesman in the crucial years of the church from 1893-1897, and, as president of Augsburg Seminary, he was an undisputed authority, even if the most vociferous battle cries at the time were made by Sven Oftedahl, his friend and co-worker.

Andreas Helland wrote an excellent biography of Sverdrup. It was published by the Messenger Press in 1947, under the title Georg Sverdrup: the Man and His Message (B 445b).

Aside from the excellent content of the three titles above and their value as reference sources, the books were exceptionally well designed and produced and, thus, stand as the best publishing achievement of the Messenger Press. For this, unreserved credit is to be given to the General Manager of the Messenger Press, Abner Batalden.

Another contribution of Batalden was the production of a pictorial album, Our Fellowship (B 61a). This publication, frequently referred to in popular parlance as the "preacher catalog", consisted of a pictorial and historical survey of congregations around the year 1946. The publication was not dated, but from the contents and statistics, it is safe to conclude that it was published in 1947.

With these four titles in the 1940's, the actual publishing enterprise of the Messenger Press virtually ceased. The serial and the periodical publications were, of course, continued. Among these the Press continued a Christmas publication which had been started in 1935--the annual Christmas Echoes. Although in size, content, and quality it did not

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compare favorably with the Christmas publication of Augsburg Publishing House, it had a good sales record and was continued annually until 1955. The distribution and the sale of the Christmas Echoes were to a large extent in the hands of the Luther League Federation, and the sales volume reached a yearly 7,500 copies.[142]

As last publications worth mentioning, in 1951 the Press published materials for the auxiliaries of the Lutheran Free Church. These program aids, Heritage (B 774f), Give me a Light (B 774e), and Freedom and Christian Education (B 46), were printed by the press but their editorial responsibilities and their distribution were in the hands of the auxiliaries themselves.

E. Publishing in the Norwegian Lutheran Church, the Evangelical Lutheran Church and the American Lutheran Church: Augsburg Publishing House 1917-1967

The year 1917 witnessed a great event in Norwegian Lutheranism: the merger of the Hauge Synod, the Norwegian Synod, and the United Norwegian Lutheran Church in the Norwegian Lutheran Church in America. It was not yet the complete union desired by many Norwegian Lutherans. Remaining outside the merged church, the recalcitrant opposition formed the Norwegian Synod and joined the Synodical Conference. The Lutheran Free Church remained outside also with strong ethical and doctrinal doubts about the union. The Eielsen Synod and the Lutheran Brethren who prided themselves in their doctrinal isolation also shunned the merger. But, while the merger united nearly a half a million, the dissidents totalled only a little more than fifty-five thousand Norwegian Lutherans.

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[142] The United Evangelical Lutheran Church published a similar publication entitled Christmas Chimes. This publication, too, was distributed through the corresponding Luther League organization.

The Articles of Union provided that the "Bookstores and the publishing houses of the Hauge Synod, the Norwegian Synod, and the United Church shall be united into one concern, whose chief seat of business shall be the Augsburg Publishing House, Minneapolis, Minn."[143] In executing this decision, the new church body discontinued the Hauge Synod Book Concern by selling the plant and the equipment and by liquidating all indebtedness. The book stock and merchandise were taken over by the Augsburg Publishing House, but this stock, together with the liquid assets from the sale of the plant after clearing the indebtedness, amounted only to $737.13 net value. The Lutheran Publishing House of Decorah, Iowa, was left intact. Its assets were estimated at $112,588, which was less than half of the estimated assets of Augsburg Publishing House ($271,617). The Minneapolis branch of the Lutheran Publishing House was sold. The estimated total value of the greater Augsburg Publishing House amounted to $384,943. A. M. Sundheim, former assistant manager of Augsburg Publishing House, was now appointed General Manager. He had been associated with the House since 1890, as superintendent of the printing department and since 1904 as assistant manager.

The Board of Publication, according to the constitution, was to be made up of four members elected by the Board of Trustees and five members elected by the church body. The former four constituted the Finance Committee, the latter five--the Book Committee. Other committees made up of Board members assisted on church papers and business management.

In general, the consolidation of the three publishing establishments in one was well received, and cooperation and good will predominated within the new concern. Also, the clientele was responsive and trusting.

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[143] The Evangelical Lutheran Church, The Union Documents of the Evangelical Lutheran Church (Minneapolis: Augsburg Publishing House, 1948), p. 8.

There were some problems, however, and one of them was space. The increased book stock and the new additions to the staff required additional storage rooms and offices. Thus, an interior remodelling and reassigmment of space were necessary.

Other problems resulted from the general economic conditions. The effects of World War I were felt especially in the rigid rulings of the War Industries Board. Paper prices fluctuated unpredictably and then rose 400 percent by 1921 over the prewar price. This necessitated holding a large supply of paper in stock, creating space and investment problems. The cost of labor also rose rapidly, creating more financial difficulties. Unionization of the employees made it impossible for the administration to freeze wages by appealing to Christian commitment and charity.

Another problem was inherited from the merged publishers, who along with their assets had pooled the liabilities of the habits of their reading publics. The old habit of not paying bills on time was even more marked in the new operation. Church members, due to the change-over, felt justified to delay payments for their subscriptions and bookstore bills. Thus, unreasonably large outstanding accounts were accumulated, totaling $92,085 by 1918,[144] making it necessary for the house to borrow money. As efforts to get old accounts settled were only partly successful, the Augsburg Publishing House began stricter policies in extending credit.[145]

Another hardship of the house was its steady and faithful adherence to an old rule that the house turn over to the church eighty percent of

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[144] Norwegian Lutheran Church in America. Report . . . 1918, p. 229.

[145] Ibid., p. 229.

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the profits. It was hard to understand the rationale of such stewardship. The steady drain on the income of the house did not permit it to build up reserve funds nor to liquidate indebtedness; the twenty percent of the profit transferred to a capital surplus account amounted to only a few thousand dollars a year. Only in 1923 did the house begin to set aside nominal sums as reserves against losses, bad debts, and other contingencies.

The proper correctives to alleviate the situation came at the end of the 1920's, when the new General Manager, Randolph E. Haugan, installed more realistic fiscal policies. Under his management, the house developed various reserve funds by means of which the house could develop future building programs, as well as safeguard the management against crises of various kinds.[146]

The financial development of the Augsburg Publishing House and the growth of its plant and printing facilities are documented in the M. A. thesis, A History of Augsburg Publishing House, by this writer.[147] This work also surveys the publishing activities of the house and gives an account of books published from 1890 to 1960. It is not necessary, therefore, for all this information to be repeated here. The present survey, nevertheless, will summarize the basic events of book publishing of Augsburg Publishing House and will give a full survey of publications between 1917-1967, so that eventual trends of monographic publishing become apparent.

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[146] More realistic fiscal policies were started in 1927, when Randolph E. Haugan became Assistant Manager.

[147] Karlis L. Ozolins, "A History of Augsburg Publishing House," (unpublished M. A. thesis, University of Minnesota, 1960).

The progress of Augsburg Publishing House through the fifty years from 1917-1967 was on a constant upward trend in terms of production, sales, and distribution. At the same time, it grew in influence as an instrument implementing the purposes of the church. The net worth of the house with assets, stock, and equipment was $460,000 in 1917. Sales of that year amounted to $279,000, and the profit was $40,000 in rounded figures.[148] In 1967, the net worth of the house was $7,079,000, the net sales were $8,675,000, and the year's operating gain was $454,000.[149] It must be pointed out, however, that the constituency served by the house had increased also at least fivefold, and that as the level of sophistication and education of the average church members had increased in 1967, more was expected from the church related publisher than was the case in 1917. Therefore, the growth of the house was a normal development and not out of proportion with its goal of serving the church.

As already implied, the twelve years of the management of A. M. Sundheim differed greatly from those of his successor, Randolph E. Haugan, who stayed as general manager of the house for the remainder of years under this study. The difference was especially noticeable in the area of book publications.

Under the leadership of Sundheim, the published books, while most of them represented conservative Lutheranism, had a conspicuous fringe of non-religious titles. These were literary and historical publications in Norwegian with a sprinkling of translations in English from Norwegian. There were also English language publications presenting Norwegian history or geography.

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[148] Norwegian Lutheran Church in America. Report . . . 1918, p. 235.

[149] American Lutheran Church. Reports and Actions . . . 1968, p. 355.

It is in this non-religious fringe of literary publications that the Augsburg Publishing House featured Ole Edvart Rolvaag, N. N. Roenning, and scores of other Norwegian luminaries of the time period. Among these ethnic publications we also find the voluminous and significant reference compilations of Olaf Norlie. Norlie's reference titles are replete with statistical and factual material and have become important tools for the study of the Norwegian Lutheran Church and the history of Norwegian immigration. Among the non-religious books, moreover, we find also editions of Ibsen and Bjoernson--the classics of Norse literature.

It is possible that this group of cultural publications belonged to a broader concept of religion which included the domain of human creativity and the esthetic expressions of the human mind. We have to dismiss this possibility as atypical of Lutheranism of the 1920's for want of a theological rationale or supporting arguments in contemporary thought.

It is more likely that in the immigrant mentality the efforts to safeguard their religious heritage were coupled with those of salvaging their ethnic identity. In the 1920's, the transition from the Norwegian to the English language was a dominant problem in the Norwegian Lutheran congregations. The fear of losing their national culture and religion motivated congregations to insist on the Norwegian language in confirmation instruction, on parochial summer schools in Norwegian, and even on the support and promotion of Norwegian Lutheran academies and colleges. In this effort to maintain the waning national language, books of Norwegian literature may have appeared to be as welcome as religious titles and the effort of publishing them as being well justified.

Besides this rationale, the publishing of Norwegian literature may have been just good business. Either to pacify their consciences, to bolster their speaking knowledge of Norwegian, or simply to decorate their living rooms with shelves of Norse literature, the Norwegian people in the congregations bought these Norwegian books. It was undoubtedly expedient to publish Norwegian titles, while the demand was present.

By the 1930's, however, the younger generation of Norwegians was Americanized to the point of a relative unconcern about the Norwegian language. Their national identity, no longer expressed in language, lived on as symbolic expressions in art, customs, and foods. There was no use in the 1930's to publish books in a "foreign" language.

It is very likely also that the severe economic conditions of the Great Depression contributed to the decline of the demand for Norwegian books. The absence of statistical data on the production, sale, and distribution of the Norwegian titles makes any statement on the subject a speculation. The facts are, in any case, that at the end of the 1920's, Norwegian language titles, with a few exceptions, ceased to be published, and that the new manager of the Augsburg Publishing House directed the whole publishing enterprise more pointedly toward implementing and promoting the primary aims of the church. Furthermore, it is evident from the records that there were no objections voiced by ministers and lay members about the change and that, apparently, the new policy of publishing met the needs of the congregations.

Another non-religious publishing area developed at the house in the field of choral music. Although the publication of religious music for worship was a quite legitimate pursuit for a church-related publisher, the technical aids in harmony, conducting, and theory of music were certainly extraneous or marginal to the aims of the church. Yet, due to the excellence of the choral work and compositions of F. Melius Christiansen, whom the Augsburg Publishing House engaged as advisor and editor in

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publishing the *St. Olaf Series*, the publications naturally gravitated into these technical areas. Because of good choral music groups at church-related colleges and in congregations, and because of great appreciation of music among Norwegians in general, the *St. Olaf Series* and all other music publications were well received, encouraging the house to expand in the choral music field.

While the emphasis on literary publication was shortlived, ending in the 1920's, the emphasis on choral music became a treasured tradition which has been carried on to the present. In addition to the Norwegian and Lutheran choral tradition, the house extended its influence in a broad spectrum of music, becoming more international and more contemporary in coverage.

In exemplifying the belletristic or the literary trend of the earliest period from 1917-1920, Augsburg Publishing House published *Fire Fortaellinger* by Simon Johnson (B 513); *The Norse Discovery of America* by Dr. Andrew Fossum, (B 272); *Choruses and Chorales* by Sperati (B 1249); *Under Vestens Himmel* by Aslagsson (B 25); *Mine Fire Aar i Tyskland* by James W. Gerard (B 292); *En Fallit* by Bjoernson (B 89); *Fotture i Egypten og Palaestina* by Tjernagel (B 1310); *The White Dawn* by Winslow (B 1359); *Returning Home* by Dahl (B 202); *Select Readings and Recitations* by Lysnes (B 785); *Digte* by Stromme (B 1273); and *Tone* by Norstog (B 907).

Among the many literary publications that did not gain popularity among the general reading public were some publications of O. E. Rolvaag, who at the end of the 1920's rose to fame as one of America's foremost novelists. O. E. Rolvaag, began his literary career in 1912 by publishing his *Amerika Breve* and in 1914 his *Paa Glemte Veie*. Both publications were published under the pseudonym Paal Moerck.

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Although Rolvaag began his career with Augsburg Publishing House, his rise to fame took place outside of it. The first novel to receive wide acclaim and international notice was published in Norway. It was a story of immigrant hardships and tribulations in the conquest of the prairies of South Dakota entitled I de Dage-Fortaelling om Norske Nykommere i Amerika.[150] The second part of the novel was published a year later.[151] Both parts of I de Dage were translated into English by the author himself and, under a fitting title from Genesis 6:4, Giants in the Earth, were published in one volume by Harper.[152] Harper and Bros. publishing outlets and advertising promoted the sales exceedingly well. In a year's time, thirty-five printings were followed by a new edition in 1928 and another edition in 1929 in the Harper's Modern Classics series.

The fame of Rolvaag moved Harper to continue publishing his novels. The next publication was Peder Victorious, a sequel to Giants in the Earth,[153] then Pure Gold,[154] Their Fathers' God,[155] and The Boat of

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[150] Ole Edvart Rolvaag, I de Dage-Fortaelling om Norske Nykommere i Amerika. (Kristiania: Aschehaug-W. Nygaard, 1924).

[151] Ole Edvart Rolvaag, I de Dage-Riket Grundlaegges (Oslo: Aschehaug-W. Nygaard, 1925).

[152] Ole Edvaart Rolvaag, Giants in the Earth; a Saga of the Prairie (New York and London: Harper & Bros., 1927).

[153] Ole Edvaart Rolvaag, Peder Victorious, trans. Nora O. Solum (New York and London: Harper & Bros., 1929). The title was republished in 1931 by the A. L. Burt Co. It was translated from Peder Seier (Oslo: Aschehaug, 1928).

[154] Ole Edvaart Rolvaag, Pure Gold, trans. Sivert Erdahl and the author (New York and London: Harper & Bros., 1930). The translation was made from Rent Guld (Oslo: Aschehaug, 1932) which was an adoption of To Tullinger (B 1084).

[155] Ole Edvaart Rolvaag, Their Fathers' God, trans. Trygve M. Ager (New York and London: Harper & Bros., 1931). The Norwegian edition was Den Signede Dag (Oslo: Aschehaug, 1931).

Longing.[156]

Augsburg Publishing House published the lesser known novels of Rolvaag in Norwegian, Laengselens Baat (B 1082) and To Tullinger (B 1084), as well as a volume of short stories, Fortaellinger og Skildringer (B 1081). The house published, also, an anthology and a text in three volumes for the study of Norwegian language, with Rolvaag as editor (B 1080, B 1083). Rolvaag cooperated in the latter with P. J. Eikeland, professor of the Norwegian language at St. Olaf College of Northfield, Minnesota. As professors at the same institution, they had already, in 1916, jointly published a grammar.[157] Another nonfiction publication, Omkring Faedrearven, was published by St. Olaf College Press in 1922.[158] This publication contained Rolvaag's lectures on the Norse cultural tradition.

The most interesting among the early non-theological titles was the political and diplomatic autobiography of James W. Gerard, the U.S. ambassador to Germany, entitled in Norwegian Mine Fire Aar i Tyskland (B 292). The translation of the English publication, My Four Years in Germany,[159] was done by Peer Stroemme, an author well known among the Norwegians. The translation and the publication of Gerard's book shows the effort of the Norwegian minority to keep up with the events of the world and to exhibit loyalty to their country. The popular autobiography of Gerard revealed the dangers of German militarism and advocated American intervention in World War I.

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[156] Ole Edvart Rolvaag, The Boat of Longing, trans. Nora Solum (New York and London: Harper, 1933), 304pp. This title was a translation from Laengselens Baat (B 1082).

[157] P. J. Eikeland og O. E. Rolvaag, Haandbok: Norsk Retskrivning og Uttale (Minneapolis: Augsburg Publishing House, 1916), 126pp.

[158] Ole Edvart Rolvaag, Omkring Faedrearven (Northfield, Minn.: St. Olaf College Press, 1922), 200pp.

[159] The autobiography was published in 1917 simultaneously by Hodder and Stoughton and by Doran.

During the years 1917-20, the Augsburg Publishing House published nearly sixty titles, of which forty-eight were religious in nature. Among these forty-eight, one author and his novel published in 1917 merits our immediate attention, because he represented the theology and the culture of his contemporaries and had successfully published several books. The novel, _When Jesus Enters the Home_ by John Nathan Kildahl, now translated and published in English, was originally published in 1906 in Norwegian under the title _Naar Jesus Kommer ind i Huset_ (also by Augsburg Publishing House). The story consisted of a drunkard's conversion to faith, and, with it, a total change of life. Because of the strong abstinence movement in the Norwegian Lutheran Church and the general abhorrence of alcoholic beverages in any form and strength in the household, this book was welcome as a didactic tool, as a proof text, and inspiration. There was another edition of the story in 1927.

Before 1917, Kildahl published a sermon collection, _Synd og Naade_,[160] which sold relatively rapidly and was republished in 1920 (B 549). A translation of this title was published in 1954 under the title _Concerning Sin and Grace_ (B 545).

Another theological title with many reprintings and editions was _Misforstaaelse av den Helligaands Gjerning_ (B 548), a collection of essays on the Holy Spirit intended to evangelize the unbeliever. The English edition appeared in 1927 posthumously as _Misconceptions of the_

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[160] _Synd og Naade_ was first published and copyrighted in 1912 but republished in 1920.

Word and Work of the Holy Spirit (B 546) upon which another edition followed in 1937 as *Ten Studies on the Holy Spirit* (B 549a). In 1960, another revised edition was published under the title, *The Holy Spirit and our Faith* (B 545a).

The talents of Kildahl even extended to poetry. He was the author of the sacred cantata, *The Prodigal Son* in 1918. Another, a sixteen page pamphlet, *Om Barnedaaben*, appeared in 1910; however, its translated edition was published only in 1934 as *Infant Baptism*, a nineteen page pamphlet. John Nathan Kildahl was popular because of his lucid style and commonsense position within conservative Lutheran theology. He was also popular because of his position in the church. He was president of St. Olaf College in Northfield, Minnesota, from 1889-1914, and from 1915 to the time of his death in 1920, he served as professor of systematic theology at Luther Theological Seminary in St. Paul, Minnesota.

Another renowned author with quite a few publications was Erik Kristian Johnsen. He had two publications in the years 1917-1920: *Paulus, en Livsskildring* in 1917 (B 508)[161] and its translation *Paul of Tarsus* in 1919 (B 506). Johnsen, too, was a member of the faculty at Luther Seminary, but he was, also, a member of the Board of Publication. He contributed mainly in theology. An undated pamphlet by him dealt with the concept in the Kingdom of God in the Old Testament, *Guds Rige i det Gamle Testamente* (B 504a). Another Norwegian title dealt with the Epistle of Paul to the Hebrews, *Brevet til Hebraerne* (B 504). The last publication of Johnsen was *The Passion Story of Our Lord Jesus Christ* (B 505) in 1930. The more theological and scholarly stance of Johnsen

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[161] The first part of this title, dealing with the life of Paul, appeared in 1902. This part was republished in 1917 together with the discussions of his writings.

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did not make his books popular reading; thus, the English edition, Paul of Tarsus, had sold only 400 copies in eleven years' time.[162]

A popular book, with great demand as a curriculum text, was Ole Nilsen's Luther's Life for Children and Young People (B 888). It was published originally in 1907 in Norwegian, Luthers Liv fortalt for Boern og Ungdom. In 1943, this text was revised, recopyrighted, and republished, by Ingeborg Stolee, with new illustrations in folio format. The 1943 edition had at least seven repeated printings.

Other curriculum materials were published in serial form by H. P. Grimsby as editor of the Bible Stories for Beginners (B 350, 351), the Graded Lessons System on the Catechism and the Explanation, and Teachers' Helps on Sverdrup's Catechism (B 357), and the Norwegian Lekser System. These were followed in later years by other curriculum materials under the same editorship.

Without a known editor or author, the house issued, around 1917, four serially published Bible stories for children in Norwegian entitled, Bibelske Barnefortaellinger. In 1918, a catechism text appeared both in English and Norwegian (B 770, B 767), and a Bible history was republished following an old Norwegian text by Vogt.

One new title, Bibel Historie for Begynderklasserne; Det Gamle Testamente, was edited by Mrs. C. M. Christianson (B 169).

All of the books immediately preceeding are, of course, curriculum texts which this study does not endeavor to survey systematically. The early textbooks for Sunday Schools and confirmation classes, except for the Graded Lessons System and the Norwegian Lekser series, were published as monographs with deliberate array of forms and with irregular coverage of subjects and age level. These monographs, however, exemplify well the basic concerns and needs of the church clientele of the time period and explain in a germinal way the basic preoccupations and coverages of the elaborate curriculum series later.

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[162] Karlis L. Ozolins, op. cit., p. 177.

An additional comment on another excluded category needs to be made. The music publications in octavo sheet form are not included in this study. The music publications covered are the bound music of fifty pages or more; hence, a considerable segment of the publishing effort will not be discussed. Some of the octavo music published during the initial years was later republished and bound in rather good-size volumes. There were other synodical music publications, composed by musicians and poets of the church, intended for special occasions which were more substantial (but not more than fifty pages) than the regular choral selections used in worship. These publications were included in this survey, as exceptions.

F. Melius Christiansen was mentioned above with his general contributions to the development of the music tradition of Augsburg Publishing House. He influenced music publication in a specific way during the years 1917-20, by starting the famous St. Olaf Choir Series (B 167i) and publishing the Prodigal Son (B 167g) and The Hymns and Choruses for the Choral Union Festival in 1923 (B 167d).

Another substantial choral composition was published in 1917 entitled Hosianna, Religiose Sange (B 939) by P. G. Peterson. Smaller music publications were published by Alfred Paulson, Carlo Sperati, and H. A. Wigtil.[163] Besides these, in 1917, the Augsburg Publishing House published for national chaplaincy needs the Army and Navy Service Book.[164]

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[163] Alfred Paulson published five music pamphlets in 1917; Sperati arranged Choruses and Chorals for the Choral Union in 1919; and Wigtil composed O Lord, I cry unto Thee in 1920.

Another important author to be introduced with the early publication list was Olaf Morgan Norlie. He contributed books to more subject areas than any other author. No one, likewise, surpassed him in gathering and compiling statistical information. Olaf Morgan Norlie was a man of many interests, many talents and with an incredible amount of ambition. He spent the early part of his life in Iowa and South Dakota as a railroad and farm laborer and later as clerk and teacher. His earliest academic work, for the B.S. degree, was done at Augustana and Dixon colleges. He later acquired a B.A. degree from St. Olaf College in Minnesota, an A.M. degree from the University of Wisconsin, a Candidate of Theology degree from the Seminary of the United Church in St. Paul and finally a Ph.D. degree in 1908 from the University of Minnesota. Norlie taught at St. Olaf College, Humboldt College, Milwaukee Normal School, United Church Seminary, and Luther College, subjects ranging from English, mathematics, Latin, psychology, and sociology, to Hebrew and religion. His probing and statistically bent mind engaged him in census work in Alberta, statistical work for the National Lutheran Council, and classification and cataloging work at St. Olaf College. Norlie made his most significant contribution to the history of Norwegian Lutheranism while engaged as statistician, reference librarian, and book reviewer at Augsburg Publishing House from 1915-1919. He experimented for a time in educational administration as Dean of Hartwick College and served for a time in the ministry as pastor in Atwater, Minnesota. During the last part of his life, Norlie served as catalog librarian at St. Olaf College in Northfield, Minnesota. Here he retired in the mid-1940's and died in 1962. In recognition of his scholarship, Norlie was awarded honorary doctorates by Dixon, Wittenberg, and Augustana Colleges.

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[164] This title was published for the National Lutheran Commission for Soldiers' and Sailors' Welfare. Later in 1940, Augsburg Publishing House published its own Service Prayer Book by Ylvisaker (B 1370).

Norlie began his literary career in 1901 with a forty-seven page pamphlet, A Guide to Literary Study, which he published himself for teaching purposes. In 1909, he published his first book with the Augsburg Publishing House, The United Church Home Mission.[165] This was a rather naive proposal to solve the home evangelization task of the United Norwegian Lutheran Church. This title was followed by two Norwegian titles, Ness Jubelskrift (1911) and Den Forenede Norsk Lutherske Kirke (1914), and seven publications in which Norlie participated as editor.[166]

Only one of these nine publications before 1917 merits special attention. It was Norlie's first reference tool, a directory of Norwegian ministers, Norsk Lutherske Prester i Amerika, first published in 1913, with a revised edition in 1915.[167] The popularly called Prestekalender listed all Norwegian Lutheran ministers in the United States and Canada with brief biographical and bibliographical data and portraits. The arrangement of entries was, awkwardly, by ordination dates, and then alphabetically by name for each calendar year. Thus, to find a pastor's biography, the searcher would have to find the ordination

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[165] Olaf Morgan Norlie, United Church Home Mission (Minneapolis: Augsburg Publishing House, 1909).

[166] All these publications are listed in Norlie's own School Calendar (B 906), p. 508.

[167] Olaf Morgan Norlie, Norsk Lutherske Prester i Amerika 1843-1915, 2d rev. ed. (Minneapolis: Augsburg Publishing House, 1915).

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date first through the index. The work was provided with several indexes, some of questionable utility. A twenty-six page index arranged the ministers by geographical locations in which they were born. Another index arranged the pastors by schools attended. Further indexes were provided to degrees, medals, literary activities, and mission work. A chronological necrology was also appended with various statistical summaries. The directory was prefaced with a ninety-four page statistical and historical survey. In spite of the awkwardness of arrangement and the inclusion of adiaphora, the Norsk Lutherske Prester i Amerika is a unique and indispensable source in providing biographical and bibliographical information about some 2000 Norwegian Lutheran ministers in America.

A similar, but more voluminous compilation, followed in 1918, when Norlie, as editor and compiler, published a directory of Norwegian congregations. The two-volume magnum opus was entitled Norsk Lutherske Menigheter i Amerika 1843-1916 (B 903). Aside from statistical and factual information, tracing the history and development of each congregation, the directory also provided pictures of the church buildings, maps of locations, and diagrams of mergers and splits, when such occurred. Like the first directory, the directory of Norwegian congregations is difficult to use without an index, because the entries are listed by states and counties in chronological order.

A similar, though less ambitious, enterprise followed in 1924, when Norlie provided a directory in English of Norwegian teachers. This title, School Calendar (B 906), was in form and treatment similar to the Prestekalender.

Another statistical compilation should be mentioned to the credit of Norlie, the Lutheran World Almanac and Annual Encyclopedia (B 902), published from 1921-1932 in seven volumes. As direct editor together with George Kieffer, Norlie provided an immense amount of factual and statistical information on various aspects of the contemporary Lutheran churches, including bibliographical details of their publishing activities. The Lutheran World Almanac is an indispensable tool for the study of the Lutheran Church during the early decades of the twentieth century.

A different, but very useful, compilation of Norlie for the study of publishing in the Lutheran Church is the Cumulative Catalog of Lutheran Books in the English Language (B 898b). In dictionary manner, with subject and author entries interfiled in one alphabet with ample cross references, this bibliography is of the utmost importance in surveying book publishing among the Lutherans in the United States. A serious drawback of this bibliography, however, is the omission of the publishers from entries. Through numerical code numbers given in entries and through known publications outside this bibliography, it is possible to identify most publishers' code numbers and so to amplify the entries. Another directory, Who's Who Among Pastors in the Norwegian Lutheran Synods in America (B 796), was published with the help of O. M. Norlie. Under the direct editorship of Rasmus Malmin and with another assistant, O. A. Tingelstad, this directory was published in 1928.

Norlie's success as author was also evident in the field of historical writing. His best contribution was, without doubt, the History of the Norwegian People (B 900). Norlie's earliest historical essay was published in 1914, Den Forenede Norsk Lutherske Kirke i Amerika, a history and a description of the church.[168] In 1922, it was followed by Luther

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[168] This 103-page book was published by Augsburg Publishing House in 1914.

College Through Sixty Years (B 901). In this publication, Norlie was assisted by O. A. Tingelstad and Karl T. Jacobson. In another cooperative authorship with O. A. Tingelstad, Norlie wrote a biography of Christian Keyser Preus (B 1309). Norlie's interest in the past of the Norwegians in America led to the production of two facsimile publications. In 1925, Norlie reprinted the Eielsen Catechism and provided it with a short biography of Elling Eielsen.[169] The following year he published in facsimile Knud Knudsen's Beretning om en Reise fra Drammen til New York.[170]

Norlie published another biography in 1919 in recording the work of a home missionary, Olaf Glasoe. This publication was entitled Olaf Glasoe's Omsorg for Sine Egne (B 904).

Another group of publications by Norlie was written with the college curriculum in mind. Textbooks are seldom interesting publications, and Norlie's texts were not very imaginative. Among them were Principles of Expressive Reading,[171] The Open Bible (B 905), Elementary Christian Psychology (B 899), and The Outlined Bible.[172] Perhaps none of the books of Norlie was as odd as the Academy of Princes (B 898), which was a four-way conversation between Morgan, Danielson, Willis, and Boby on

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[169] Martin Luther, Doctor Martin Luther's Small Catechism with Plain Instruction for Children. trans. from the Danish and published by Elling Elielsen (Eielsen) (New York: Eielsen, 1841). 36pp. Norlie published a more complete biography of Eielsen in 1940 for the Elling Eielsen Centennial observed in Norway, Illinois, June 21-23, 1940.

[170] Knud Knudsen, Beretning om en Reise fra Drammen til New York (Decorah, Iowa: Norlie, 1926. 33pp. Facsimile ed., Drammen, 1840).

[171] This title of 190 pages was published in Boston by the Gorham Press (1918).

[172] This title was published in 1928 by the Lutheran Literary Board, Burlington, Iowa.

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the topic of religious education. The tedious dialogue between the obvious representatives of four different world views was intended to represent the corresponding concepts of education and religion.

Because of his strong preoccupation with the value and validity of the Bible, Norlie published, in addition to the Open Bible and the Outlined Bible mentioned above, the Translated Bible[173] and The Norlie Collection of English Bibles,[174] which was a catalog to the Bible Collection Norlie had given to the St. Olaf College Library. During his long retirement, Norlie wrote many manuscripts which have not been published as yet. Some of these were published in mimeographed form by Norlie himself.

It is quite certain that many of the books by Norlie have only a marginal value. There is no doubt, however, that his historical studies have a considerable value as contributions to history of the Norwegian immigration. Nevertheless, when it comes to the reference books and directories compiled by Norlie, it is clear that Norlie's contributions in this area are great--they are indispensable to any research of the period dealing with the Norwegians in America.

In addition to the luminaries of the years 1917-1920 mentioned above, there were some less known authors. These published occasional titles complementing the publishing list with needed material. It should not be implied that these publications were inferior because of their authors' relative obscurity. Several Norwegian language titles were in this category; such were: *Til Oplysning og Opbygelse* by O. L. Kirkeberg (B 553), *Opfyldte Loefter* by G. W. Lose (B 732), an anonymous *See paa Jesus* (B 1202a), *Laeg og Laerd* by P. C. Danielson (B 204), *Hviledagen i Guds Ords Lys* by J. Granskou,[175] and *Guds Menighets Kaar i de sidste Tider* by Halvard Roalkvam (B 1067).

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[173] Olaf Morgan Norlie, The Translated Bible, 1534-1934 (Philadelphia: United Lutheran Publishing House, 1934).

[174] Olaf Morgan Norlie, The Norlie Collection of English Bibles, mimeographed (Northfield, Minnesota: St. Olaf College, 1944).

A good biography among the Norwegian language publications of lesser known authors was Rasmus Malmin's *Dr. Johan Nathan Kildahl, En Mindebok* (B 794). Among the English language publications of less known authors of this early period were *Our Father* by O. Klykken (B 560), *Confirmed and What Then?* by K. O. Eliassen (B 238), *His Workshop* by Harold B. Kildahl (B 543), and a chaplain's report on his work experiences *From Army Camps and Battle Fields* by Gustav Stearns (B 1259).

The period 1921-1930, as already suggested, continued the emphasis on publishing literature as well as books of religious nature. It was the decade in which Rolvaag rose to fame, and his popularity enhanced the house and its belletristic efforts. It should be made clear, however, that most of Rolvaag's books were not published by Augsburg Publishing House and, that as novelist, Rolvaag published only *Laengselens Baat* (B 1082) with it in this decade. However, the great American-Norwegian author was co-author with Wee of a biography, *Mindebok om Hans Nilsen Hauge* (B 1346), and with Eikeland, *Laesebok III*, (B 1083)--a reader.

This was not a decade dominated by Rolvaag at the Augsburg Publishing House. There were many others who contributed more and who all together gave the House its particular character. Among the dozen novelists who contributed was Simon Johnson with his novels: *Fallitten*

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[175] Johannes Granskou, *Hviledagen i Guds Ords Lys eller Sabbat og* Soendag (Minneapolis: Augsburg Publishing House, 1921).

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paa Braastad (B 512) and *Frihetens Hjem* (B 514), and his short stories *Fire Fortaellinger* (B 513). There was Wilhelm Pettersen with his *Slegten i Vaagefjorden* (B 941), his biography, *The Light in the Prison Window* (B 939a), and a collection of his poems, *Naar Juleklokkene Ringer* (B 940). It was a decade in which Olai Aslagsson saw a translation of his *Under Vestens Himmel* become *Under Western Skies* (B 26). Dorothea Dahl published her second novel *Byen paa Berget* (B 201), and Belle Hagen Winslow likewise produced her second novel, *Where Man is King* (B 1358).

Other novelists, too, were represented, such as J. A. Peterson with his *Solstad* (B 936) and Waldemar Ager with his *Christ Before Pilate* (B 8). According to publishing lists, O. Nilsen published a novel, *Dalrosen*, in 1928,[176] which was republished in 1949 as *Dalrosen, fra Virkelighetens verden paa Begge Sider av Havet* (B 887). There was also a short novel, *The Hungerers*, by Erland Richter (B 1062), a translation from the Swedish, and a text edition of Jonas Lie's *Lodsen og Hans Hustru* (B 660).

A surprising phenomenon in the publishing lists of the decade was the presence of poetry. There was a poetry title almost yearly, beginning in 1922 with Wilhelm M. Pettersen's *Naar Juleklokkene Ringer* (B 940). In 1924 there was the *Samlede Digte* by Julius Bauman (B 63), in 1925 the *Blue Haze* by Gustav Melby (B 812), in 1926 the *Dikte* by Johan Egilsrud (B 235), in 1927 the *Naar Samvitet Vaknar* by O. Saeter (B 1098), and *Hiawatha's Vision* by Hulda Garborg (B 286). Finally in 1930, D. G. Ristad published a volume of poetry, *Fra det Norske Amerika Kvad* (B 1066).

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[176] There is no record of a copyright registration for this title in the records of Augsburg Publishing House. No copy of the novel was found.

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There were other non-religious literary categories represented in the 1920's. There were quite a few adventure and travelogue as well as historical fiction and secular history books.

In the first category, an adventure story of a whaling expedition appeared in 1924, Paa Hvalfangst by K. B. Birkeland (B 86), in 1928 En Sommer Norge, a two-volume travelogue by Kr. Prestgard (B 972), and in 1930 the Tour of Northern Europe by J. C. K. Preus. In 1926 a voluminous three-volume set of letters in Norwegian by Ola Johann Saervold entitled Reisebreve, was published, reporting his travel to Europe (B 1100). Although the set was printed and distributed by Augsburg Publishing House, it was fully subsidized by the author and should actually be considered as a privately printed title.

Among the secular histories were Lars Lillehei with his travelogue-fiction of Leif Erikson entitled Med Leif Erikson paa Vinlandsreise (B 665) and J. J. Skordalsvold with his history-biography King Olav (B 1240). Other non-theological histories-biographies were the History of the St. Olaf Choir (B 1236) by Eugene E. Simpson in 1921, and Johannes B. Wist's Reisen til Rochester, a fictional travelogue which he published under the pseudonym Arnljot (B 1363a). There was also an autobiography, Reminiscent Reflections of a Youthful Octogenarian by G. H. Gerberding (B 295). Gerberding, popular among the Lutherans for his successful book, The Way of Salvation (B 298), and some other titles, retold here his rich experiences of life as a pioneer preacher.

Some publications of the 1920's conveyed a conservative political sentiment. The same spirit of political conservatism which, in 1918, produced James W. Gerard's Mine Fire Aar i Tyskland (B 292), now, in 1925, generated William Jennings Bryan's Last Speech, in Norwegian translation as *Sidste Tale* (B 131). Bryan, as a fighter against moderism and evolution, must have been well received and appreciated in the Norwegian Lutheran Church.

A similar political orientation found Harry Elmer Barnes' opinions worthy of a translation. The *Christian Century* during the year 1925 carried a dozen articles by him under the series title *Was America deluded by the War?* With the permission of the author, a translation by Gottfried A. Smedal was published by the Augsburg Publishing House in 1927 entitled *Blev Amerika narret ind i Krigen* (B 58a).

Publications of the 1920's show also some preoccupation with successful living. To a degree, these books advocated the moral ideals of Christianity, yet these were "wisdom of life" publications, advising how to live and enjoy life and how to avoid problems and failures. In this group were *Friendship* by O. E. Brandt (B 112), and *The Successful Life* (B 127) and *Marriage and Divorce* (B 126) by G. M. Bruce. A more narrowly religious orientation was seen in a book by Martin Hegland, *The Secret of a Happy Life* (B 438).

A special category needs to be given to three practical psychology books. These were published as textbooks for Sunday School instructors. Although these books were written from a Christian perspective, the material was gleaned from secularly oriented theories of education and psychology. The most extensive of these manuals of psychology was O. M. Norlie's *An Elementary Christian Psychology* (B 899). Tanner produced two other psychologies in the *Ten Studies* series. One of these was entitled *Ten Studies in Religious Pedagogy* (B 1295), and the other *Ten Studies on the Child* (B 1297).

The 1920's produced a number of juvenile publications, most of them fiction. Some of them were rather interesting and unusual titles,

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like the Indian Moons by Blanche Winona Allanson (B 9), Fifty Fables for Children by William Sihler (B 1234), and A Mother's Farewell Letters by Betty Jarnefelt Rauanheimo (B 993). Others were more usual storybooks with visible didactic efforts to teach by example. Such were Frick by Halvor Floden (B 268), and Blind Tim (B 1246) and Oliver Nidson (B 1247) by C. O. Solberg. There were two other juvenile story books, For the Story Hour by Millie Bock Jacobson (B 492) and The Fountain of Gold by H. Wadehl (B 1331), each containing a variety of narratives.

Some of the juvenile titles published were aimed at supplementing the curriculum or serving as auxiliary aids to programs. For Luther League or church school program needs, Olaf Lysnes compiled Better Readings (B 783), continuing what he started in 1920 with Select Readings and Recitations (B 785). Lysnes published a third book for the same purpose in 1937 entitled Readings for Live Programs (B 784).

To assist in vocational and occupational counselling, Martin Hegland wrote Eyes that See (B 432), a guide to Christian service opportunities.

A unique history of the youth work in the American Lutheran Church was written by Gerald Jenny. The Youth Movement in the American Lutheran Church (B 494) was not written for the young people but rather for those who tried to understand and lead them.

Moving to the theological and religious books of the decade, we should begin with the reference category. These books were very useful at the time of their publication, to be sure, but for historical study and research some of these reference titles are still indispensable. One such title of lasting value was the School Calendar 1824-1924 by O. M. Norlie (B 906), already mentioned above. This was a directory of

Norwegian-American teachers and professors during the century with many biographical details of their life and work. Norlie was instrumental in 1928 in editing with Rasmus Malmin and O. A. Tingelstad, a Who's Who Among the Pastors with a Norwegian background (B 796). This title was later updated and supplemented by the Biographical Directory of Pastors of the ELC in 1952, and by the Biographical Directory of Pastors of The American Lutheran Church in 1962 (B 85).

It is to be noted that in the School Calendar and the Who's Who Among the Pastors the inclusion of biographical entries were based on the criterion of the Norwegian background, but the later Biographical Directory was limited to biographies of those belonging to the Evangelical Lutheran Church and The American Lutheran Church, respectively.

Another perennial need in Lutheran circles has been for guides to their own synods and churches, explaining their differences and similarities. This need is especially conspicuous in retrospect. The divisions, mergers, and confessional controversies of early Lutheran bodies, their memberships and geographical locations have been exceedingly complex. A source of such information in the late 1920's was Lutheran Churches of the World, officially authored by the Lutheran World Convention (B 777). This reference title was superseded in 1957 by a publication of the Lutheran World Federation with the same title and serving the same purposes (B 778). It should be pointed out that an exceptionally detailed compilation of factual information about American Lutheranism was contained in the eight issues of the Lutheran World Almanac and Annual Encyclopedia (B 902), with a varied scope of coverage, chronologically ranging from about 1915 through about 1935. For coverage of later periods, as well as for an historical retrospect of Lutheranism, American and European, the Lutheran Cyclopedia of the Concordia Publishing House

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and the *Encyclopedia of the Lutheran Church* of the Augsburg Publishing House should be consulted.[177]

A reference need clearly present in the Norwegian Lutheran congregations was in the field of hymnody. The general enthusiasm about choral music and the abundant use of church music and congregational singing in worship created a need for factual information related to the hymns and their history. Choir directors, ministers, and Sunday School teachers needed a source of reference that would provide them with the background and history of the hymn, facts about the composer, translations, and other information. This need was met by the *Library of Christian Hymns* written or compiled by John Dahle (B 203a). The three-volume set was published from 1924-1928 and was well received.

Another need felt in the music ministry of the church was for an index to the stanzas of hymns so that the minister could coordinate and integrate his message with the congregational response in song. M. E. Waldeland compiled two indexes for this purpose, one for the *Lutheran Hymnary* (B 1336), and the other for *Landstad's Salmebog* (B 1335).

In theology proper, Augsburg Publishing House published in the 1920's some rather important books. For one, it continued the publishing of the popular theologian from Norway, O. Hallesby, as briefly mentioned above. The decade appropriately began with *Baptism: Infant Baptism*

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[177] There are two distinctly different publications by the same title of *The Lutheran Cyclopedia*, published by two publishers with different scope and coverage:

1. Jacobs, Henry E. and John A. W. Haas, eds. *The Lutheran Cyclopedia*. New York: Scribners, 1899. 572pp.

2. Lueker, Erwin L., ed. *Lutheran Cyclopedia*. St. Louis: Concordia Publishing House, 1954. 1160pp.

The third most recent, not superseding the above two, and to be used in addition with them, is:

Bodensieck, Julius, ed. *The Encyclopedia of the Lutheran Church*. Minneapolis: Augsburg Publishing House, 1965. 3v. (B 107).

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(B 380a) and ended with Why I am a Christian (B 390), thus dealing with common problems which vexed the minds of many a Lutheran in America.

Contacts with other Protestants, especially Baptists, who did not share the sacramental views of Lutherans, challenged especially infant baptism. Baptism, always considered so crucial in the minds of Lutherans, did not seem to be missed in many other denominations. Also, their modifications did not seem to have any ill effects. The congregations experienced a growing erosion of theological orthodoxy and the loss of members to other denominations. In order to bolster the constituents and to revive among them the significance and meaning of infant baptism and other central doctrines of the Lutheran church, repeated publications were written, among them the above Hallesby title (B 380a), I. G. Monson's The Difference (B 843), and J. N. Kildahl's Misconceptions of the Word and Work of the Holy Spirit (B 546).

In struggling with secularism and modernism, the conservative forms of faith also needed forceful redefinitions, among such were: Why I am a Christian by Hallesby (B 390), The Dangers of Modernism by M. J. Stolee (a pamphlet), the voluminous Christian Doctrine by E. Hove (B 470), or the Norwegian title by G. Smedal Verden og Kirken (B 1243).

The concern for a strong theologically orthodox Lutheran membership, the present and future generations, produced also textbooks like the Ten Studies in Church Doctrine (B 1294) and the Manual of Bible Teachings by Jacob Tanner (B 1292), or The Church Militant by Ludvig P. Kjer (B 554). Some attempts were made to disprove the theory of evolution as a substitute for the Genesis story. More books in the defense of Genesis were to be forthcoming in the 1930's, but in 1927 a pioneer effort was made by Byron C. Nelson in publishing After Its Kind (B 860).

The publication of Augsburg Publishing House of the 1920's retained the traditional foci on Jesus Christ and Martin Luther. Here first to be mentioned are the Lessons on the Life of Christ by H. P. Grimsby (B 356), teaching materials for Sunday Schools, published quarterly. Actually, the title consisted of four installments published from 1922-1924. Another Christocentric publication which defended the miraculous events of the resurrection was published in 1923; it was written by Z. J. Ordal and was entitled The Resurrection of Jesus an Historical Fact (B 924). The miraculous in the birth of Jesus, especially his incarnation, was defended by G. T. Rygh in What Think Ye of Christ (B 1097).

The tributes to Luther were few and not unusual. There was O. Nilsen's Luther's Life for Children and Young People (B 888); there was also a republished Luther's Small Catechism in 1929 (B 769). There was also a book discussing the teaching methods and pedagogical concerns of Luther by G. M. Bruce, entitled Luther as an Educator (B 125).

The Augsburg Publishing House also issued a few devotional books during the 1920's. Such were the Daily Meditations (B 1282) and Daily Devotions for Children (B 1281) by Conrad Svendsen and Walking With God by Martin Hegland (B 440).

There were also new editions of old devotional classics, such as A Faithful Guide to Peace with God (B 1090), Veiledning til Fred (B 1091), and Den der Vinder (B 1089) by C. O. Rosenius and Mirror of Faith by Bishop Pontoppidan (B 961).

In the field of the study of religion and the Bible, the house produced a few Norwegian titles like Brevet til Hebraeerne by E. Kr. Johnsen (B 504) and Moses by M. O. Wee (B 1348). This study of Moses was translated a few years later in English (B 1347). Some English language books of the decade for the study of religion and the Bible were The 900th

Anniversary of the Introduction of Christianity into Norway by Jens C. Roseland (B 1088), *The Oppression and Exodus* by T. C. Thorson (B 1307), and *The Genesis of Religion* by M. J. Stolee (B 1267).

In the curriculum line, the *Adult Class Manual* by Martin Anderson (B 14) was very successful as a textbook and was republished with revisions in 1938. Study materials for the younger students were *Bible Stories for the Beginners* by H. P. Grimsby in two volumes (B 350, 351) and the *Elementary Introduction to the Bible* by G. M. Bruce (B 124).

Missionary work had a fair coverage. Among the books were *Lutheran Mission Work Among American Indians* by Albert Keiser (B 530), *Hedningemissionens Plads i Bibelen* by M. Saterlie (B 1102d) with its translation *Foreign Missions in the Bible* (B 1102c), *Fra Santalistan* by M. A. Pederson (B 932), *For the Women of China* by Christine Johnson (B 509) and the *Widening the Frontier* by J. C. K. Preus (B 979). Although most of the forty-nine sketches and incidents compiled in the last title were written by others, Preus was more than a compiler of the material. Aside from writing the preface, foreword, and a lengthy historical introduction, Preus achieved, through the selection and arrangement and through his fill-in articles, a panoramic view of the home missions of the church.

The prominance of F. Melius Christiansen in music continued in the 1920's without any serious challenge. The *St. Olaf Choir Series* (B 167i) was continued and completed. After 1926, the series was available in six large octavo-size volumes, totaling 695 pages of music. The unbound octavo music by title and scores of other music brochures published during the decade are listed in *Augsburg Collection of Church Music,* edited by Christiansen himself (B 167a). An earlier edition of this catalog was entitled *Augsburg Collection of Sacred Music; Choir*

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Directors Guide.[178]

In addition to the St. Olaf Choir Series (B 167i), F. Melius Christiansen selected and published Fifty Famous Hymns (B 167c), and Hymns and Choruses for the Choral Union Festival in 1923 (B 167d).

There were others besides Christiansen who ought to be given recognition for music publications. Dahle and Johnshoy arranged and published the Liturgical Service of the Lutheran Church in 1922 (B 203b), Gunnar Malmin edited and compiled Song and Hymns for Children's Voices (B 792); in subsequent printings, this hymn collection was also entitled Songs and Hymns for Junior Choirs.

Granskou compiled a hymnal, Missionary Hymns (B 346), of which the second part of some 175 pages contained missionary hymns in Norwegian. It is likely that the English and Norwegian sections were bound and sold separately as they have separate pagination. The authorship or editorship of Granskou is not given in the source except for the initials Johs. G. in the introduction of the Norwegian section.

Under the sponsorship of an intersynodical committee and after contacts with a number of Lutheran synods, Augsburg Publishing House issued a new hymnal for children, Hymns for Church Schools (B 483c), in 1929.

Although the objectives of the church were not neglected in the 1920's, and the literary titles on the publishing lists provided a widened spectrum of options to the buyer, it was evident that Augsburg Publishing House did not devote its full potential in the service to the church.

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[178] This catalog was preceeded in turn by a pamphlet of thirty-two pages which listed the music published by Augsburg Publishing House, viz: F. Melius Christiansen, Choir Directors' Guide (Minneapolis: Augsburg Publishing House, n.d.), 32pp.

The quantity and quality of publications indicated a great strength and potential; yet, as the church officials saw it, the publishing left much to be desired in the furtherance of the aims of the church, as non-religious matters, and in some instances ephemeral matters, drained its strength. Randolph E. Haugen, the new manager of the house, recognized this unrealized potential as a mistake and began, in the early 1930's, to redirect the whole publishing enterprise in a single-minded effort to serve the church. He did not fail to see the merits of good literature, art, music, and humanities; but, in his mind, publishing in these fields was justified only when these were integrated with or became subservient to the needs of the church. He showed in the instance of the annual Christmas publication that this could be done well. As editor of Christmas, he engaged good writers, artists, and musicians; he delved into the history of the reformation, carried features on ethnic traditions, local histories and biographies, if these related in any significant way to the celebration of Christmas, the festival of the incarnation of Jesus Christ. With volume No. 40 in 1970, the annual Christmas is still under the editorship of Randolph E. Haugan and continues to be an annual of Christmas literature and art of quality.

The decade of the 1930's began, then, with a basic orientation, that the chief purpose of Augsburg Publishing House was the manufacturing and the distribution of Christian literature.

To measure the attainment of this objective, a new statistic was reported annually--the total number of pieces of Christian literature sold and distributed. Assuming that each item manufactured contained a Christian message in some form, the distribution and the sale, therefore, would mean that the church's message had reached some reader. The total quantity of literature distributed in 1933 was reported to be eleven million pieces; in 1963, this total was more than 300 million.[179]

In order to confirm and solidify the policy of service as a sole directive for publishing and to provide posterity with a document, the principles were formulated and presented to the district conventions in 1935 and adopted by the General Convention in 1936. The adopted principles stated that

> the objectives of the publishing activities of the Church are
> 1. To bring the Christian message of salvation by means of the printed word to as many souls as possible.
> 2. By means of Christian literature, choral music and ecclesiastical art, to enrich the spiritual life of our Church.
> 3. To inform our constituency concerning the history and current activities of our Church and its organizations so that all might have a more thorough understanding of them.
> 4. To operate in such a manner as to insure as far as possible the continuation and extension of the publishing activities of the Church.[180]

The publishing activities from 1931-1940 reflect very clearly the objectives above. As this study will show, it was impossible to reverse the trend completely. Here and there, on occasion, some titles were published that are reminiscent of non-religious publications of the decade before. But the sweep of devotionals, popular theology, and Biblical studies is so great that the non-religious or secular book appears as an obvious and unfortunate exception to the new rule.

From the eighty-four books produced during the 1930's, twelve were substantial titles in theology, nineteen titles were general studies of religion and the Bible, and four titles dealt with specific problems of the church. These thirty-five books seriously delved into the essence of religion, formulated and interpreted doctrines, expounded and explained the Bible and examined the inner self of the believer.

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[179] The American Lutheran Church. Reports and Actions . . . 1964, p. 354.

[180] Norwegian Lutheran Church. Annual Reports . . . 1936, p. 386.

A group of thirty-seven books was published with the purpose of propagating and maintaining the church and strengthening the individual in his daily life. This group of books tended to promote accepted truths rather than to investigate and seek for truths. Among this group of titles there were six sermon collections, five books of evangelism, five practical aids and manuals, nine mission promoting books, and eleven devotionals and prayer books.

In a third and last group of varia there were twelve titles. This group consisted of fiction, biography, and travelogues, some of which had a marginal religious orientation.

Beginning with the more substantial theological books of the 1930's, a remarkable concentration is evident of the writings of O. Hallesby. He had established himself among the readers of Augsburg Publishing House in the 1920's and had become very popular with Why I am a Christian in 1930-31.[181] Because his books sold so well, the house continued to publish Hallesby regularly. In 1931, appeared Prayer (B 386); in 1932, Under His Wings (B 389); in 1933, Conscience (B 382); in 1934, Christian Life (B 381); in 1937, God's Word for Today (B 383); and, finally, in 1939, Religious or Christian (B 387).

As expected, Hallesby's popularity became, for the publisher, a considerable financial success. Most of the books published sold well in the two or three succeeding years, but some remained popular all through the decade and even remained as best-sellers of the house in the 1940's and 1950's. Thus, Prayer and God's Word for Today remained

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[181] Why I am a Christian had eight printings from August 1930 through June 1931, according to sales records.

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consistently among the five most sold books until 1959.[182] Prayer topped all Hallesby book sales, exceeding 153,000 copies from 1931 to 1959. God's Word for Today sold nearly 120,000 from the year it was published in 1937 to 1959.

Ole Hallesby (1879-1961) was a renowned and active conservative theologian, teaching at the Menighetsfakultet Seminary, Oslo, Norway, from 1909-1951. As champion of Lutheran orthodoxy, he led societies of foreign missions and home mission and social service organizations against the liberal clergymen of the church. He was an excellent speaker and writer for his cause, especially so because he had personally overcome the doubt of liberalism and, therefore, spoke with conviction. Hallesby had an elegant rhetorical style which was well retained in the translations by Clarence J. Carlsen, a pastor from the Lutheran Free Church serving a church in Minneapolis. In translating almost all the books of Hallesby, Carlsen acquired a style of writing close to Hallesby's Norwegian, thus making the translations as readable as the originals. The popularity of Prayer and God's Word for Today among Lutherans in the United States was largely due to the excellence of this English translation by Clarence J. Carlsen.[183]

The core of Hallesby's theology did not deviate from the mainstream of European Lutheranism, except for this strong emphasis on the religious experience and on conversion, along with some patterns of piety advocated by Pietists which Hallesby successfully wove into the total fabric of his views. Having attended the University of Erlangen, he was influenced by the Erlangen School of Theology with its emphasis on Lutheran Confessions, Biblical study, and religious experience as ways to truth. In his thinking, prayer was of the utmost importance. It is not surprising that the best books of Hallesby were on prayer: one a phaenomenology and call to prayer, the other a daily devotional. Actually, all of Hallesby's books were written as a call to a religious commitment and are in nature evangelical. For this reason, the writings of O. Hallesby published by Augsburg Publishing House cannot be considered as scholarly theology. They are popular theology at best, although as polished essays they are also suitable for devotional purposes.

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[182] See listing of Bestsellers, in Karlis L. Ozolins, op. cit., pp. 217-22.

[183] Some translations were done by G. T. Rygh, who did a very precise work of transmitting the thought and idioms of Hallesby. The Main Difference between Positive and Liberal Theology (B 385a) was one of such precise translations of a theological lecture.

The ensuing decades did not see any new Hallesby publications although, as already mentioned, the old titles had many reprintings and nearly all of Hallesby's books were still in print in 1970. The only new book by Hallesby was added in 1962, when his _Temperament and the Christian Faith_ (B 388) was published posthumously. Another of his books, _Infant Baptism and Adult Conversion_ (B 385), first published by the Lutheran Free Church Publishing Company in 1923, was modified and republished in 1964 by Augsburg Publishing House (B 384a).

The second in importance among the authors of the 1930's was Sverre Norberg, at the time professor at Augsburg College and Seminary and now, in 1970, a retired minister residing in Oslo, Norway. With special interests in the psychology of religion, he taught also at the University of Minnesota and was a popular lecturer and preacher in the Midwest. Norberg's contributions in the 1930's were two books: _What is Christianity_ (B 894) and _Varieties of Christian Experience_ (B 893). Both titles were written with a freshness of approach and boldness of insight combined with surprising objectivity and a certain elegance of style. A little

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less sophisticated, but still very entertaining and interesting, were Norborg's biographical studies of Biblical personalities. The Old Testament characters from Enoch to Job were presented in Strangers on the Earth (B 892), the New Testament personalities in God-Controlled Lives (B 891).

Among the significant books of the 1930's, two translations merit attention. One from the German language, Quest of Holiness by Adolf Koeberle (B 564), was a very significant theological study of the doctrines of sanctification and justification and the other from the Danish language, For Selfexamination, by Soeren Kierkegaard, an essay in Christian existentialism (B 539).

Two older titles were republished, Bergen's Evidences of Christianity (B 75) revised from 1916 and 1924 editions, and Booth's biography, Martin Luther (B 111). The last publication was assigned to Augsburg by the Round Table Press, which held a 1933 copyright of it.

The decade of the 1930's produced an interesting serial publication: Studies in Lutheran Higher Education. The first issue of volume one appeared in 1933, covering the field in general, including statistics. The second issue of volume one, appearing in 1935, dealt with the curriculum. No further issues were published in this rather interesting cooperative venture.

In the area of Biblical studies, two books have already been mentioned, namely, the Strangers on the Earth (B 892) and the God-Controlled Lives (B 891) by Sverre Norborg. There were eleven more titles in this subject area. Some of these were like Norborg's books, studies in Biblical personalities, although not as well written. Theodore Huggenvik wrote a book, Fourteen Men Who Knew God (B 474), sketching the disciples and apostles of the New Testament. M. O. Wee developed a study of Samuel,

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Amos, and Haggai of the Old Testament entitled *Men Who Knew God* (B 1345). There was a pamphlet on Christology entitled *Preeminent Christ* by Blegen (1936) and a small book on the same subject, *The Approach to Jesus* by Huggenvik (B 473). Another theological study, comparing Pauline thought with that of Luther, *Paul and Luther*, was written by Eastvold (B 232).

A group of books of the 1930's was written on particular books of the Bible. A very elaborate work, *The Gospels* by Johannes T. Ylvisaker (B 1364g) dealt with the synoptic problem and Christology; another by Stolee entitled *Genesis* (B 1263) dealt with the first book of the Pentateuch; another, Olav Lee's *Second Coming* (B 618), with the Revelation; and Lundeberg's *Church of the Living Word* (B 759), with Ephesians.

Two other titles of the decade attempted to introduce the reader or student to the study of the Bible. *Uniqueness of the Bible* (B 430), by Edvard Hegland, was a small volume written with an emphasis on Christology. The other, a more substantial work, was aimed to serve college level courses in the Bible. This book, *Getting Acquainted with the Bible* (B 434), was written by Martin Hegland, chairman of the Department of Religion at St. Olaf College, and author of many books for the young.

Another small volume should be mentioned with the other titles in the area of Biblical study. It was O. L. Olson's *Literary Treasures of the Bible* (B 921a), an anthology of Biblical passages.

Other books for study and teaching published during the decade were *Pentacostalism* (B 1264), *Outline of Church History* (B 475b), *Lectures of the Religious Thought of Kierkegaard* (B 291), *Ten Studies in Personal Evangelism* (B 340b), *Ten Studies in Church History* (B 127a).

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To this group of study and teaching titles belong also some books on certain special concerns. The state-church relationship was a perennial concern of the church as it dealt with an inherited sensitivity and a shared apprehension by all protestants in the new country. A forceful title by Dr. Paul H. Andreen, Clash (B 21), was published in 1938 on the subject. Another problem disquieting the Lutherans of the time period was the evolution theory. Darwinism and evolution in general were abhorred by the conservative Lutherans, but the more liberal Lutherans leaned toward the acceptance of the scientific concepts and did not see in them any contradictions with the doctrine of creation. The orthodox Lutherans clung to the doctrine of the verbal inspiration of the Bible and with it interpreted the Old Testament version of creation as literally true. This position led the orthodox Lutherans to take a stance against any scientific attempts to theorize in the areas of cosmogony, zoology, and geology. In the American Lutheran Church during the 1920's, William Schoeler was an unsuccessful spokesman for orthodoxy. In the 1930's, Byron C. Nelson of the Norwegian Lutheran Church stood bravely, but not very successfully, against scientists and evolution. His first book, attempting to discredit science, was After Its Kind (B 860) in 1927, followed in 1931 by Deluge Story in Stone (B 863), and in 1948 by Before Abraham (B 862).

Although not many books were written in the defense of the Genesis story of creation and not many attacks like those of Schoeler and Nelson were published, the church tacitly accepted the Biblical version of creation, taught it in the curriculum materials, but permitted a certain latitude of interpretation and avoided an outright contest with scientific views.[184]

Another title dealing with a variety of problems, especially those faced by the young in the area of individual and social ethics, was published in 1932 by Martin Hegland. This book, Problems of Young Christians (B 437), took a stance against a variety of adiaphora matters, such as movies, card games, dancing, and similar other secular entertainments, advocating a very legalistic and Pietistic viewpoint. It must be said, in all fairness, that Hegland well represented the ideals of a church-related Lutheran college campus as they remained until World War II.

A lofty idealism without legalism was advocated in the slim volume, The Ministry, by Gustav Jensen (B 496). This Danish classic was well translated into English by O. E. Brandt.

The decade of the 1930's produced eleven devotionals. Most of these were average publications without a great popularity and a theological or literary distinction. Among the eleven devotionals[185] only one was unusual. The Service Prayer Book (B 1370), sponsored by the President's Chaplain's Association of the Army and Navy of the United States, was published in one million copies and this devotional had a nationwide military service distribution.

Exceeding in popularity of most of the other titles of the 1930's was the devotional by Hallesby already mentioned--God's Word for Today

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[184] A good discussion of the controversy is found, with representative contemporary articles, in Willard B. Gatewood, Jr., ed., Controversy in the Twenties--Fundamentalism, Modernism and Evolution (Nashville: Vanderbilt University Press, 1969).

[185] These were the following: Thy Kingdom Come by Hope (B 469), Service Prayer Book (B 1370), Power from on High by Lavik (B 608), Vesper Meditations by Rassmussen (B 991), Lift up your Heart by Strodoch (B 1271), Morning and Evening by Everette (B 245), We Have Found the Messiah by Hartmann (B 415), Up to Jerusalem by Kretzmann (B 577), God's Word for Today by Hallesby (B 383), The Living Word by Ronning (B 1087), and Our Father by Lunde (B 757).

(B 383). This was a regular "standby" of the Norwegian Lutherans in the United States.

In the same category as devotionals--books with predictable messages and uses--were the sermon collections. There were three collections by Lee (B 613, 614, 615) and two by Lindemann (B 669, 670). Only one of the sermon anthologies had a fresh and novel message. This sermon collection, Release by Schiotz (B 1108), developed the essence of Christianity as freedom from bondage; Schiotz became president of the Evangelical Lutheran Church in 1954.

Another volume of sermons should be mentioned as an effort in poor taste. It consisted of a contrived and artificial dialogue between Jesus and his disciples and was written for the expressed purpose of proving the fulfillment of the Old Testament prophecies in the death and resurrection of Jesus. This volume, entitled On the Way (B 864), was written by Byron C. Nelson, who was mentioned above in connection with his anti-evolution and anti-science publications (B 860, 862, 863).

Four books of sermons were published for evangelizing young people; three were written by the Executive Director of the Young People's Luther League, N. M. Ylvisaker (B 1366, 1367, 1369), and one by Oscar Rem (B 1002).

The perennial interest of the Norwegian Lutheran Church in foreign missions had always produced a flurry of pamphlets, as well as occasional books on the subject. In the 1930's, there was a concentrated effort on missions with rather sizeable books. This was partially due to Andrew Burgess, a professor at Luther Theological Seminary in St. Paul. In rapid sequence, he published five titles: two children's books, Utamba and Little Koto, both less than fifty pages, and three adult books, Unkulunkula in Zululand (B 138), Ra-ha-la-hi-ko (B 137) and Peng Fu from Junan (B 136). In 1941, Burgess published another mission book, *Lan-ta-te, Landahl of China* (B 135). There were three other mission story books and two biographies of missionaries.[186]

And then there was a small group of books catering to various practical needs of the church, ranging from quite a lofty liturgical *Psalter* (B 668) to a factual *Our Church at Work* (B 913d). In between was a book of *Readings for Live Programs* (B 784) by Lysnes, reprint of the symbolic texts of the Norwegian Lutheran Church (B 1285), a reprinting of *Luther's Large Catechism* (B 766), and an art publication, a thirty-page pamphlet entitled *Scenes from the Life of Christ* by P. Norman.

In spite of the strong new direction of the house toward carrying out the goals of the church, a few books were still published, as in the previous decade, for entertaining readers. First to be mentioned are the two travelogues, *Streiftog* (B 973) and *Fjords and Faces* (B 971) by Prestgard. The latter was actually an abbreviated edition of volume I of *En Sommer i Norge* (B 972), published in 1928. Hegland authored, in 1938, a travelogue *In the Holy Land* (B 435), which was actually compiled from radio interviews given by him to the local broadcasting station in Northfield, Minnesota.

During the decade, only three new novels saw the printing press: the *Enchanted Valley* by Lundeberg (B 761), *How Halvor became a Minister* by Stromme (B 1275), and *New Canaan* by Odland (B 914a). There was only one ethnic history--the *Stories of the East-Vikings* by Ravndal (B 995); one literary essay collection, *Fortaellinger og Skildringer* by Rolvaag (B 1081); one general book of sayings, *Ideas and Ideals* by Nelson (B 869);

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[186] The story books were *Stories from Madagascar* (B 203), *White Unto Harvest* (B 913), and Awes' *For the Soul of a King* (B 49). The biographies were *Daniel Nelson* (B 870), written by his daughter, and *Apostle to the Chinese Communists* (B 865), the life of Daniel Nelson, Jr., written by his brother.

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one biographic collection, Eminent Pioneers, rewritten by Erling Ylvisaker (B 1364e); and one personal biography, My Reasonable Service by Ingeborg Sponland (B 1252).

The thin spread of bellestristic publications is symbolically represented in the one volume of poetry. Milestones and Other Poems was written by George W. Spohn, chairman of the English Department of St. Olaf College in Northfield, Minnesota. The volume, only forty-seven pages long, was published in 1934.

The drastic move away from the Norwegian language is, likewise, clearly exemplified in the fact that, during this decade, only one new Norwegian book was published, namely, the Fortaellinger og Skildringer of Rolvaag (B 1081); this appeared in 1932 at the beginning of the decade.

The decade of the 1940's was, in terms of economics, a time of recovery. The years show a gradual economic growth for Augsburg. Yet, the growth rate was not as fast as might have been expected. The United States involvement in World War II caused various hardships, some of which affected the publishing industry. The commodity controls of the War Production Board regulated the paper and newsprint supply and, thus, curtailed book production to some extent. If book production was slowed down in the 1930's because of consumer market considerations and shortage of funds, now in the 1940's some economizing was done because of the shortage of paper. The resulting volume of publications was strikingly similar. In the 1930's, eighty-four new books were published; in the 1940's there were eighty. A certain similarity was present also in the pattern of subjects these eighty books represented. There were twelve titles of substantial theology, thirteen sermon compilations, thirteen devotionals, fourteen Biblical or related area studies, eight practical reference books, seven missionary titles, and four biographies. Among the eighty books of the 1940's, there were only two travelogues, two novels and one poetry volume, all of which, with the exception of one novel, had a distinctively religious orientation. Likewise, there were four children's books; three of these were biographies of religious personalities and only one of them was a story without a religious frame of reference. This one, Muskego Boy (B 467), and the novel Song of Aino (B 762), were the only titles during the 1940's that did not strictly meet the religious orientation criteria adopted in 1935.

Beginning again with the publications by means of which Augsburg Publishing House made its greatest contribution of the decade, we turn to the books of theology. Among the twelve books in this group, there were some which, according to subject, were nothing more than Lutheran theology; yet, the mode of presentation or approach was so excellent and contemporary that these titles became also significant interpretations of Lutheranism to non-Lutherans. Such was the Message of the Church by Kantonen (B 526), Here We Stand by Sasse (B 1101), and the Communion of Saints by Preus (B 974). A book of broader scope was The Apostle Paul by Moe (B 840), a translation from the Norwegian by L. A. Vigness. This book was well received in Norway and was acclaimed in the United States as one of the fifty outstanding religious books of the years 1949-1950 by the Book Selection Committee of the Religious Books Round Table.[187] Another book with interdenominational significance was Homiletics by Johann Michael Reu (B 1024), a theological seminary textbook.

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[187] The formal announcement of this list was made at the American Library Association Convention at Cleveland, July 16-22, 1950. Book News Letter of Augsburg Publishing House, Minneapolis, July, 1950, No. III, p. 1.

The most essential contribution of Augsburg Publishing House to the general public, however, was its concentrated publishing of Soeren Kierkegaard. Much credit for the effort should go to David F. Swenson, Professor of Philosophy of the University of Minnesota, who translated and edited the titles, but the credit should also be extended to the Lutheran readers, who were ready for the thought of the Danish existentialist and who bought these books eagerly. In addition to Thoughts on Crucial Situations in Human Life (B 541), the four volumes of Edifying Discourses (B 535), and the Gospel of Suffering (B 540) by Soeren Kierkegaard, a very significant interpretation of his philosophy was published, Something About Kierkegaard by David F. Swenson (B 1284). This work appeared first in 1941, but was republished posthumously in 1945 with revisions and supplements. Lillian Marvin Swenson, the author's widow and faithful co-worker in the translation of Kierkegaard, was instrumental in adding a bibliographic chapter on the writings of Kierkegaard and another interpretative chapter in which she compiled her husband's correspondence relating to some difficult problems of translation.

Augsburg Publishing House of the 1940's was diligent in providing its own constituents with fourteen theological and Biblical monographs. Specifically, Bible oriented titles were only five. Two of these, Your Key to the Bible (B 477) and Exploring God's Word (B 1291), were general introductions. Jesus and the Children by Ronning (B 1086) reconstructed the childhood of Jesus and the attitudes of Jesus to children in the Biblical narratives for the benefit of those who teach and tell stories to children. Before Abraham by Byron C. Nelson (B 862) was a naive attempt to explain the Old Testament narratives before Abraham as

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historically true world history. The exegetical or interpretative *Daniel Speaks to the Church* by Luthie (B 755a) was a translation from the German. This study tried to reinterpret the Book of Daniel for the modern man. There were nine other study books published during the 1940's, ranging from theological topics such as atonement in *Atonement and Forgiveness* (B 1290); prayer, in *Prayer and Its Power* (B 418); Christology in *Christus Emptor* (B 362); pneumatology, in *I Believe in the Holy Spirit* (B 1361); to ecclesiological and sociological topics such as stewardship, in *Ten Studies in Stewardship* (B 203c); home life in *Family Affairs* (B 542); evangelism, in *Evangelism in the Congregation* (B 74); the Christian's self concept, in *Full Grown in Christ* (B 566); and comparative religion in *Christian Truth and Religious Delusions* (B 871a). The most significant of all the volumes of theology was *I Believe in the Holy Spirit* by Fredrik Wisloff (B 1361), translated into English from the Norwegian by Ingvald Daehlin.

In the category of practical aids in church work, there were six titles directly aimed at areas of need. To help congregations and pastors in serving military personnel, especially if the congregations were near military bases or camps, the house published, in 1941, a small booklet, *Service to Service Men*, by Alva J. Brasted (B 113). To assist in the pastoral ministry a more substantial title was published in 1949, the *Pastoral Care of the Sick*, by Johann Christian Heuch (B 453). This book was a recent translation by J. M. Moe of an old classic handbook, *Sjelesorgen hos de Syge*, by Bishop Heuch of Kristiansand, Norway. The translation was made from the second revised edition of this title, published in Oslo in 1889.

Augsburg offered another practical handbook to parents and teachers of teenage girls in *Strictly Confidential* by Alice M. Hustad

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(B 481). It was also hoped that this counseling monograph would serve as a self-help to girls in understanding themselves.

A practical book for new congregations engaged in a building program was Anderson's Planning and Financing the New Church (B 17). The book was richly illustrated with architectural drawings and floor plans. The title was first published in 1944, but in the 1946 revised edition a section was added on building a parish house.

A lengthy pamphlet, Should We Join the World Council of Churches (B 605), was addressed in 1947 to the constituents in order to prepare them for the question whether to join or not to join the World Council. The voting on the question was to take place in 1948, at the Eighteenth General Convention of the Evangelical Lutheran Church in Minneapolis. The leadership of the church advocated joining the World Council. The arguments for joining were presented by Dr. N. Astrup Larsen, the opposing arguments by Pastor R. A. Ofstedal. Dr. Larsen was the former President of the Iowa District and at the time pastor in Lafayette, California, but Ofstedal was a distinguished member of the Board of Trustees and of the Board of Publication. Ofstedal was more thorough in his presentation; his article of forty-eight pages was replete with diagrams, quotations, and dramatic conjectures; whereas, Larsen's arguments were rather historical, factual, and brief (only fifteen pages). Partially because of this pamphlet and some discussion in the Lutheran Herald and Lutheraneren, the constituents of the Evangelical Lutheran Church were greatly concerned about the doctrinal laxity and liberalism predominant in the World Council of Churches. The motion to join the Council was defeated with 872 votes against and only 546 votes for the motion.[188]

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[188] Evangelical Lutheran Church. Annual Reports . . . 1948, p. 492.

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During the year of the World Council debate, a great interest arose among the constituents in the actual creedal and confessional documents on which the church had been founded in the merger of 1917. Thus in 1948, the Union Documents were republished with the assistance of G. M. Bruce as editor (B 128). More directed instruction in the doctrinal background and the responsibilities of church membership was provided by We Believe, a small book by Huggenvik which followed shortly in 1950.

The final volume in this group of books with a practical purpose was the Forward March of Faith (B 231), a public relations album presenting the history of the church by means of pictures and diagrams. This was a very similar publication to Our Fellowship of the Lutheran Free Church (B 61a) and Thank God for the Church of the American Lutheran Church (B 445).

In turning to sermons and devotional materials, we shall forego listing them in sequence, as there were thirteen sermon collections and thirteen devotionals with great similarities of content, form, and purpose.

One monumental effort of the decade should, nevertheless, be mentioned in full. This was a series of sermon collections which provided a comprehensive coverage of the whole church year with sermon materials. The series consisted of seven books: We Beheld His Glory (B 1342), Unto a Living Hope (B 1325), What Seek Ye (B 1356), For This Cause (B 269), In Whom We Live (B 484), Teach Me Thy Paths (B 1299), and By the Obedience of One (B 146). Each Sunday of the year was provided with three pericope texts and with three corresponding sermons. The sermons were donated for publication by scores of pastors.

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In addition to the anonymous seven volumes above, six other sermon compilations were published, all from outstanding preachers such as Ylvisaker (B 1371), Knudson (B 562), Hanson (B 407), Anderson (B 18), Rogness (B 1071), and Lenski (B 630). The devotional group of thirteen titles were mainly concerned with the observance of Lent and all of the titles, except two, dealt with this theme.[189]

Although Augsburg's production for children was generous through the curriculum series, such as the *Vacation Church School Series*, the *Weekday Church School Series*, and the *Augsburg Sunday School Series*, the house also published some very attractive monographs. Two such books were authored by Edna and Howard Hong, entitled *Muskego Boy* (B 467), and the *Boy Who Fought with Kings* (B 466a), both attractively designed and illustrated oversize volumes. Similar in design and form was *Luther's Life* (B 1266) by Ingeborg Stolee, using an old text by O. Nilson (B888). The fourth children's title was a small octavo Christmas story, *Friend of the Prince*, by J. C. K. Preus (B 975), developing a fictional plot between Lazarus and Jesus as playmates.

In the foreign missions' area, Augsburg Publishing House produced *Lan-Ta-Te* by Burgess (B 135), *Ships Will Sail Again* by Guttormson (B 366), *Above the Tumult of China* by Jones (B 517), *West China and Burma Road* by Friberg (B 276), *Journey to Chunking* by Daniel Nelson (B 866), and an

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[189] The volumes of the decade dealing with Lent were: Fibiger, *A Study of the Passion of Christ* (B 253); Wee, *Thoughts During Lent* (B 1349); Lee, *Light of the World* (B 617); Polack, *Rainbow Over Calvary* (B 957); Reigestadt, *Christ of Lent* (B 997), and *Gethsemane to Calvary* (B 998); Heimark, *Spirit of Lent* (B 442); Halvorson, *Take Up Thy Cross* (B 392); Nelson, *This is Life Eternal* (B 868); Fjelstad, *The Cross is Central* (B 263); Steinhaeuser, *The Man of Sorrows* (B 1260).

Two books of devotional readings were *For His Name's Sake* by Hegland (B 433), and *Thy Rod and Thy Staff* by Kildahl (B 544). The first consisted of scripture selections for devotional readings, the other was a devotional based on the content of the Lutheran Catechism.

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exceptional reference handbook to missionaries, the English-Chinese Romanized Dictionary, also by Daniel Nelson (B 865a). The last title was, in its unpublished form, a doctoral dissertation accepted by the Hartford Foundation Theological Seminary.

In the home missions' field, there was only one publication during the decade, Snapshots, by Habel (B 373)--a book that promoted this area of church work rather inadequately.

Among the less church-oriented publications of the 1940's, Augsburg Publishing House published two novels, one volume of poetry, two autobiographical narratives, and four biographies--altogether nine titles. The novels of the decade were Fair are the Meadows by Ingles (B 485) and Song of Aino by Lundeberg (B 762). The first of these novels explored a set of problems of individual and social ethics faced by a young Christian college graduate. The second novel was a delightful and charming story of a family from a Finnish community in Northern Minnesota.

The Songs and Poems by Overby (B 927) was not original poetry but a compilation of songs and hymns for recitation or private reading.

Both autobiographical narratives were penned by Norwegian bishops. Bergrav's Land of Suspense (B 77) related an interesting visitation trip of the bishop to Northern Norway, but the Memoirs from War Years by Fjelbu (B 262) was a diary of the Nazi invasion and occupation of Norway.

Among the four biographies of the decade, Lars Wilhelm Boe by Hetle (B 452) was an important contribution to local and parochial history. Boe, president of St. Olaf College for many years, was active in politics, church, and education in the Midwest, intertwining his life with many significant events of his period. Hetle's biography of Boe thus becomes an interesting record documenting some fifty years of Norwegian Lutheranism. Another biography, the life story of Johann Sebastian

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Bach by Field (B 256), was well written and entertaining, but two others had more moral value than literary merit. The Eyes of Understanding by Nilsen (B 886) and My Soul More Bent by Lee (B 611) were testimonies of a blind man and a polio patient written for encouragement of others.

The decade of the 1950's was very productive for Augsburg Publishing House. With 134 new books during the ten years, it exceeded the previous decade by almost seventy per cent (over the previous eighty titles). It was also a decade of versatility as the house found new ways of serving the church with artistic and literary excellence. There were fewer mediocre books, even among the devotionals, and a new and well selected group of titles for children appeared. There were twelve titles in theology, sixteen in study and teaching, ten in missions, six in church history, thirteen in biography, nine practical reference books, three novels, five poetry volumes, twenty-four children's books, nineteen devotionals, and eleven sermon collections. There were, in addition, six interesting various publications which gave this productive decade some added distinction.

A new awareness of the church was apparent in the spread of the best of its titles. Among the twelve books of serious theology, there were five exploring the church's relationship to the world, five redefining some basic doctrinal positions, and only two dealing with Lutheranism in the traditional sense.

Most interesting was the first group consisting of This World and the Church by Hong (B 468), the Christian Church in A Secularized World by Lavik (B 607), God and Caesar edited by Quanbeck (B 987), and the Christian Faith and Liberal Arts (B 166c) and Faith Active in Love by Forell (B 270). All these books exhibited a new sense of the

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responsibility of the church toward the world. Two of them sized up the forces of secularism as a new found foe and evil afflicting the church. The other titles attempted to design bridges or to establish rapport with the world in terms of action and service.

In redefining and restating Lutheran doctrinal positions in certain crucial areas, five books contributed remarkably well. These titles were: This is My Body by Sasse (B 1102), a study on the question of the real presence of Christ in the eucharist; Incarnation by Skard (B 1237), on Christology; The Concept of Newness in the New Testament by Harrisville (B 412b), on searching new categories of religious existence; Christian Marriage Today by Colacci (B 182), on the prevalent concepts of matrimony; and Interpreting the Bible by Hofmann (B 454a) on the search for adequate hermeneutics.

In interpreting the Reformation heritage, only two titles were published in theology: the Reformation Crossroads by Lentz (B 652), exploring the Luther-Melanchton differences, and the Messages of the Third Assembly (B 779), publishing the main speeches from the Lutheran World Assembly held in Minneapolis in 1957.

The popular theology books in the 1950's numbered sixteen. Some of these titles were popularizations or didactic arrangements of theology for study and teaching, such as Law Perfect by Frost (B 283a); The Way, The Truth and the Life by Lavik (B 609); Prophecy Interpreted by Milton (B 834); Ten Studies on the Lutheran Church by Bruce;[190] and Christianity in Education by Hegland (B 431). Some of these sixteen titles were shorter essays contributing to some particular question or problem, such as *What Youth are Thinking* (B 1244), *Baptism and Faith* (B 605a), *The Church Meets Judaism* (B 953a), *Why Did It Happen To Me* (B 71a), *The Bible is the Word of God* (B 606), and *One Lord One Baptism* (B 1364b).

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[190] This 1952 revised edition of an earlier Ten Studies on the Lutheran Church was not found. This revised edition had 112 pages and was advertised in the curriculum catalogs.

Most of these essays were paperbacks and reasonably priced. Some other titles in this group, such as *A God Who Likes Me* (B 475), *Christ for a World Like This* (B 361), and *Personality We Have Missed* (B 1293) were evangelistic publications. Another paperback, *Two Treatises on the Means of Grace* (B 1051), was a reprint of two earlier separately published essays by Johann Michael Reu, showing that his theological contributions were considered important even ten years after his death.

A small but significant paperback was *The New Song* by Sateren (B 1102b), extolling the use of contemporary choral music in the church.

In the area of foreign missions, the Augsburg Publishing House contributed six substantial books: *Scalpel and Cross in Honan* (B 1239), *Young China in the Valley of Decision* (B 19), *Lutheran World Mission* (B 139), *For the Heart of Africa* (B 168b), *Red Dragon Over China* (B 803a) and *As Between Brothers* (B 1248). The last title reported the relief work accomplished by the Lutheran World Action in the years following World War II. There were also four smaller mission publications reporting on Lutheran missions in Formosa, Madagascar, Japan, and South Africa (B 1248a, 1287, 1286, and 933).

The perennial preoccupation of the Lutheran church with its own history was well exemplified during the 1950's as six historical studies were published. *The World and Men Around Luther* by Tillmanns (B 1308) dealt with the Reformation period; *Church Life in Norway* by Molland (B 842) covered the history of the church in Norway from 1800-1950; *The Valley Waits* by Gullixson (B 365) recollected stories of the pioneer days

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from the Upper Missouri and Mississippi Valley.

The most comprehensive and definitive study of the Norwegian Lutherans in America to date was done by Clifford Nelson and Eugene Fevold in their two-volume work, The Lutheran Church Among Norwegian-Americans (B 867). Two institutional histories were written; the history of the Women's Missionary Federation by Martha Reishus, Hearts and Hands Uplifted (B 1001), and of the Norwegian Synod by several authors edited by J. C. K. Preus, Norsemen Found a Church (B 977).

The Lutheran concern for the past and tradition was further extended in publishing thirteen biographies, ranging from Gustavus Adolphus (B 557), Martin Luther (B 520), and the Apostle Paul (B 841), to Bishops Bergrav (B 508e) and Nericius (B 1364c); and from Hans Nielsen Hauge (B 416, 1208) to Linka Keyser Preus (B 980) and Elizabeth Fedde (B 1075). There were also the usual "victory" books, relating personal life stories in which faith and hope overcame such problems as spastic paralysis, mental illness, cerebral palsy, or just delinquency (B 1302, 1344, 524, and 787b).

Among the nine practical books of the decade were outright "how to do" books: A Guide to Church Building and Fund Raising (B 15), The Key to a Successful Church Library (B 502), and How to Organize The Education Program of Your Church (B 27).

Significant reference books were the Biographical Directory of Pastors of the Evangelical Lutheran Church (B 85), the Handbook of the American Lutheran Church (B 396a), and the Lutheran Churches of the World (B 778). The first was an indispensable directory to the personnel of the Evangelical Lutheran Church, the second a statistical handbook for the merging American Lutheran Church, and the third a descriptive guide to worldwide Lutheranism.

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Among the reference tools was a reprint of the Confessions (B 128, B 244a), published in 1958 as This We Believe (B 1301), a reprint of The Ministry by Jensen (B 496), and a small but penetrating help to pastors, concerning influence through personal example, The Pastor's Personal Life by Rendtorff (B 1003).

In the area of fiction, the 1950's produced three novels, similar in character to those of the previous decade. Two of the novels, The Indictment (B 484a) and Ever One God (B 780), dealt with the problems of communism. The first, written by an anonymous author, depicted life behind the Iron Curtain through the eyes of a political prisoner. The other, by Lutness, told the life of a displaced person. The third novel, Rivers to the Sea by Irene Strommen (B 1276), concerned young people whose sheltered lives were suddenly exposed to various influences of campus life, which tested their beliefs and values.

The poetry of the 1950's had far more distinction than that of the previous decade. In contrast to the single anthology of poetry published in the 1940's, Augsburg Publishing House produced, in the 1950's, four original volumes of poetry: Under a Juniper Tree by Everette (B 246), Poetic Meditations on the Scriptures by Rothnem (B 1092), From the Rhymesmith's Anvil by Habel (B 372) and Poems of Faith for the Christian Year by Olson (B 920a). Enid Martell Olson was a former English teacher with keen perceptiveness and sensitivity as a poet. Everette, Rothnem, and Habel were all preachers by profession and poets by avocation and, thus, revealed in their poetry quite interesting and inspiring religious insights. Uniting music and poetry was Una Sancta, a cantata by Paul Christiansen (B 168a), written for the merger of The American Lutheran Church in 1960.

In the field of children's books, the 1940's produced only a few titles, but these were well-designed and illustrated. Now in the 1950's, the number of children's books grew to twenty-four; most of the volumes were of the same high artistic quality as those of the decade before. Augsburg Publishing House was fortunate to engage good writers like Grace Noll Crowell, Gertrude Doederlein, and Erling Rolfsrud, whose writing merited good book design. There were four books by Crowell, four by Rolfsrud, and two by Doederlein, and single contributions by Mero, Hanson, and Longehough.[191] The other eleven children's books were produced for instruction or auxiliary reading and had more text-like qualities.[192]

As in previous decades, the Augsburg Publishing House continued to publish ample numbers of sermon books and devotionals. There were eleven volumes of sermons[193] and nineteen volumes of devotionals[194]

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[191] The Crowell titles were *Little Boy Down the Lane* (B 196d), *Little Serving Maid* (B 196e), *My Book of Prayer and Praise* (B 197), and *Wood Carver* (B 197b). Rolfsrud authored *Boy From Johnny Butte* (B 1075a), *Family on Maple Street* (B 1076), *Gopher Tails for Papa* (B 1077), *Happy Acres* (B 1078). The Doederlein titles were *Kamla's Good Day* (B 220b) and *The Music Box Maker* (B 221). Lee Mero wrote and illustrated the *Christmas Alphabet* (B 814a), and Hanson, the *Little Star* (B 401a), and Langehough, the *Lost Letter and Other Stories* (B 602).

[192] Among these eleven titles was the *Family Bible Storybook* by Field in two volumes (B 254). This set was published also in the curriculum series as *People and the Promise*. Other titles were: *Something for Jesus* (B 234c) and *Living with Jesus* (B 234b) by Edith Eekblad; *The Way it was in Bible Times* by Merrill Gilbertson (B 302a) and seven children's titles by Gerald Giving: *Cities of Bible Lands* (B 302c), *Great Leaders of the Early Church* (B 302d), *Great Leaders of the Reformation* (B 302e), *Life in Bible Lands Yesterday and Today* (B 302g), *Paul, the Apostle's Beginning Missionary Work* (B 302j) and *Paul, the Apostle Preaches in Europe* (B 302h). Another sequel to the two latest was *Paul to Rome and Martyrdom*, published somewhat later.

[193] See sermons: B 284a, 340, 405a, 454, 617a, 833, 1073, 1319, 1320, 1321, 1322.

[194] See devotionals: B 27a, 64, 71, 78, 257, 369, 370a, 404, 412c, 439, 460, 475c, 469, 570, 604, 1055, 1303, 1362. There was also a special

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published in the 1950's. A good part of this material was directed to the seasonal market demands of Lent and Easter.

The last category of books published in the 1950's characterized as "various" was unlike anything in the past and did not fit into the other subject categories reviewed. One such interesting book was the art work of Johnny Shek, a Chinese artist who illustrated scenes from the life of Christ. The book, entitled, *Sketches of Christ from a Chinese Brush* (B 1231), was edited by Olaf K. Skinsnes. Another unconventional publication was that of Kenneth Riebe, who compiled a number of articles written by Lutheran youth as messages to young people in general. This volume was entitled *Call to Youth by Lutheran Youth Leaders* (B 983).

A significant innovation during the decade was the development of a new form of publication--literature that would combine some subjective reflections with theological knowledge and be presented in an eloquent and sophisticated manner. In this category that could be called "reflective essays" were four books: *Whimsy* by Field (B 258), *Of All Things* by Gyldenvand (B 368), *It's All in the Family* by Hestenes (B 450), and *Things Common and Preferred* by Karl Olsson (B 922). Of the four, *Whimsy*, although delightful, was not so much philosophizing as reminiscing, but *Things Common and Preferred* was an inspiring and deeply reflective essay collection in elegant style, certainly the best of all four. *Of All Things* and *It's All in the Family* dealt with everyday life and, as such, were, perhaps, the most useful books for the general reader.

The book production of Augsburg Publishing House increased remarkably after 1961. The merger, consolidating the Wartburg Press and

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edition of R. E. Golladay's *Lenten Sermon Outlines* under Augsburg Publishing House imprint of 1954 (520 pages). Presumably, this was a reprint of a Lutheran Book Concern title from 1915.

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the Lutheran Publishing House with Augsburg Publishing House, created a sizeable business concern which immediately showed its capacity for increased production. It should be noted that the consolidation of the operation did not affect the quality and the traditional marks of publishing which characterized the Augsburg Publishing House monographs. The consolidated house retained the traditional style and design of its books. The numerical total of new books during the last seven years of our survey, 1961-1967, was 175 titles. The annual average was twenty-five titles, which was about twice the annual production of the 1950's and three times the annual average of the 1940's.[195] The new volume of publishing was proportionate to the size of the new constituency. The new American Lutheran Church was about twice as large as the Evangelical Lutheran Church.[196] What was remarkable, however, was the accommodation of the new volume of publishing in the existing plant facilities. With the addition of a wing and with the transfer of the Columbus and Blair staff members to the editorial and technical labor force, Augsburg Publishing House operated the intensified publishing program without difficulty. The house resorted, on occasion, to printing and binding their publication outside as "farmed out" jobs, after their own plant was used to capacity. The consolidation of the publishing activities in service to a doubled constituency intensified the use of the existing plant and facilities to a level of greater efficiency and resulted in an increased economy of operation. A factor in this increased economy was the larger imprints of every title, which proportionately reduced the production costs and increased the margins of profit considerably.

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[195] The annual publishing lists actually range from seventeen to thirty-three titles. The yearly average of twenty-five titles for the decade of the 1960's compares very favorably with 13.4 books a year in the 1950's, 8.0 books a year in the 1940's, and 8.4 books annually in the 1930's.

[196] The membership reported on December 31, 1959, was 754,431 conformed members in the Evangelical Lutheran Church and 1,480,086 confirmed members in the merged church. See The American Lutheran Church, 1961 Year Book (Minneapolis: Augsburg Publishing House, 1960), p. 18.

[197] The plant in Minneapolis was remodeled and altered to obtain 50,755 additional square feet of floor space. The remodelling cost

It should be mentioned, also, that there were further rearrangements of space made in the new addition during 1965, achieving space gains without expansion beyond the existing plant. All of the adjustments of the plant to the increased production were intended mainly for the publishing of periodicals, serials, curriculum materials and even Sunday bulletins, letterheads, tracts, and other ephemera. None of the increased floor space was solely for the publishing of books.

The Augsburg Publishing House book sales were, indeed, a very small part of the total business enterprise. In the year 1963, it amounted to 3.2 per cent of the total business sales volume, which increased to 4.4 per cent in 1967.[198]

During the seven years from 1961-1967, as already indicated above, the Augsburg Publishing House produced 175 monographs. From those 175 titles, there were nineteen scholarly books in theology. As in previous decades, this category consisted of publications by well known and established authors or of works with thorough coverage of a theological subject, or of books which contributed in a permanent way either to

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$664,380 and was paid, without borrowing, from a contingency fund. See The American Lutheran Church. Reports and Actions . . . 1962, p. 301.

[198] For comparison, the curriculum materials in 1963 amounted to 19.1 per cent of the sales, church bulletins 17.1 per cent, periodicals 17.4 per cent, and merchandizing products of other manufacturers 23.5 per cent, of which books and Bibles of other publishers amounted to 5.4 per cent of sales (all in 1963). The proportions of the sales volume in 1967 were similar to 1963 with a slight increase in the volume of printing sales.

interpreting or describing significant aspects of the Lutheran church, thus, providing historical or phenomenological data for future research. Most of the books in this category were volumes with 250 or more pages.

From the 175 titles, fifty-three books were in the category of study and teaching of theology, including also books in popular theology. Most of these books ranged from 100 to 200 pages, and contributed to some specific or superficial aspect of a doctrine, or simple reiterated or reproduced material available in some other form. This category traditionally contained numerous books of popular theology which were of poor quality and shallow efforts of writing. During the 1960's, however, in spite of their paperback format and their limited scope, the quality of writing had improved and most of their books were thorough and respectable studies. An especially commendable development was the Augsburg Theological Monograph and the Tower Book series, which maintained high quality standards in the selection of authors and their contributions.

During the seven years of the 1960's, the house produced, in addition, three historical titles, seven biographies, four novels, twelve children's books, five "various", and only one poetry volume. In the more conventional categories of church service materials, the house published twenty practical-aid type publications, thirty-four devotionals, ten sermon compilations, and seven mission titles.

Among the more substantial and scholarly books of the 1960's, prominant were the international and ecumenical titles. A pleasant surprise is to discover among these nineteen titles two books by Hans Lilje, the well known German Lutheran bishop. One of his books was a small volume, Atheism, Humanism and Christianity (B 663) and the other the more sizeable volume Messages from God's Word (B 664). The Messages from God's Word were translated by Walter G. Tillmanns from five original German edition booklets published by Furche-Verlag, Hamburg, Germany. The composite contents were intended to allow the bishop to speak his mind as in conversation on subjects that are of interest to all concerned Christians. Unfortunately, this book did not sell well, perhaps due to its nondescript title. The other book, Atheism, Humanism and Christianity, translated by Clifford Davis, was more timely in its subject material as well as had a timely title and thus fared much better in selling.[199]

We find another internationally known author among this first group of books--the Danish theologian and authority on the Reformation, Regin Prenter. The Word and the Spirit; Essays on Inspiration of the Scriptures (B 970) was a welcome sample of Prenter's thought, as little of his writings have been translated thus far into English. The essays were much broader than the subtitle suggests, dealing extensively with the Reformation legacy from various aspects. The translation by Harris Kaasa was well done and preserved the Danish simplicity of Prenter's style. Unfortunately, by the end of 1967, the sales of Prenter's book had not reached the first thousand mark.

Other international authors were engaged to publish with Augsburg. Wisloeff's The Gift of Communion (B 1360) was an interesting study of Luther's controversy with Rome on the eucharistic sacrifice, well translated by Joseph Shaw and Max Steuer; Peter Meinholt's Caesar's Or God's? (B 811), an essay on authority, resistance, revolution, and war, was translated by Walter G. Tillmanns. Two more translations from the German were published: Claus Westermann's Handbook to the Old Testament (B 1354) and Kurt Hutten's Iron Curtain Christians (B 482), the first was done by Dr. John Boyd and the other by Walter G. Tillmanns.

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[199] The sales record for this title for the seven years from 1961-1967 was 1542. The smaller volume, Atheism, Humanism and Christianity, sold in three years' time (1964-1967) considerably better, namely 2547. Statistics taken from the Augsburg Publishing House Reports, 1969, pages 125 to 125c (unpublished material) in the Archives Collection of Augsburg Publishing House.

The international orientation in the search for authors was apparent even if it did not involve a translation. The Augsburg Publishing House made a contract with the Epworth Press to publish imprint editions for two of its copyrighted books and to become for them the exclusive distributor for America. The author thus introduced to America was Cyril Eastwood, a Methodist minister of Harrogate, England. One of the books was a study of the Protestant doctrine of the priesthood of all believers from the Bible times to the Reformation, entitled Royal Priesthood of the Faithful (B 234). The other, which examined the same doctrine from the Reformation to the present days, was entitled The Priesthood of All Believers (B 233).

The international and interdenominational outlook of the publications was perhaps best expressed, aside from the engagement of foreign writers, in the concentrated effort to cover the Second Vatican Council. A critical study by Skydsgaard on a central problem, The Papal Council and the Gospel (B 1241a), paved the way; Dialogue on the Way, under the editorship of George A Lindbeck (B 666), reported the events and Challenge . . . and Response under the editorship of Warren A. Quanbeck (B 986) evaluated the Second Vatican Council.

The Augsburg Publishing House contributed also in the 1960's to restoring past classics of Lutheran dogmatics by republishing Chemnitz, Gerhard (B 165), Krauth (B 567), and Schmid (B 1109).

In catering to the contemporary needs of congregations, the house published a book on the principles of stewardship and another on theological education. God's Stewards by Brattgaard (B 114) and The Making of Ministers, edited by Bridston and Culver (B 119), were both substantial contributions on their particular subjects.

The greatest contribution of the house to American Lutheranism was made by publishing the Encyclopedia of the Lutheran Church, under the editorship of Julius Bodensieck (B 107), a respectable set of three volumes and a total of 2,575 pages. It was especially strong in Lutheran hymnody, ecclesiastical history, and theology.

The last book in this category was Messages of the Helsinki Assembly (B 815), giving in full the five main addresses from the Lutheran World Federation Assembly in Helsinki, with an introduction by F. A. Schiotz, president of the Lutheran World Federation.

The next category of theological books of the 1960's consisted of fifty-three popular, and less voluminous books, most of them paperbacks. These can be subdivided by subject area into eight subgroups. The most extensive is the category that deals with Christian life and worship, a total of eighteen titles, covering the whole range of individual concerns of life from sanctification, as in The Dynamics of Sanctification by Hulme (B 478), The New Community in Christ by Burtness and Kildahl (B 143), and The Final Act by Kjeseth (B 555), to corporate quests for new forms of meaningful fellowship, with books like Renewing the Congregation by Long (B 688), Church in a Diverse Society by Halvorson (B 393), Church in Fellowship by Vajta (B 1328), and What is the Church by Hanson (B 405). This search for relevancy in fellowship as a church and congregation is exhibited in publications originating from the World Council of Churches, such as the Faith and Order Findings (B 247c) and The Old and the New in the Church (B 1364a) by the

Theological Commission of the Fourth World Conference on Faith and Order. A companion volume had already preceded in 1960 on the question of the sacrament of baptism (B 1364b). Mueller and Ekola contributed to the quest of the church for relevance with The Silent Struggle for Mid-America (B 845) and Sponheim with Contemporary Forms of Faith (B 1251).

There were also six titles concerned with forms of relevant church membership and Christian life for the individual. Some of them were written from the viewpoint of personal evangelism, like the Living Witness by Odd Gornitzka (B 340a), a publication which was published in 1940 as Ten Studies in Personal Evangelism (B 340b), or Winning Them Back by Waldo Werning (B 1353); others were written for self-analysis and reaction of the individual himself. Such were If God Be For Us by Shaw (B 1207), Whatever You Do by Burtness (B142), One Life to Live by Halvorson (B 391), and the Temperament and the Christian Faith by Hallesby (B 388). In addition to the above two books, the Seasons and Symbols by Wetzler (B 1355) and Toward Meaning of Worship by Streng (B 1268) sought for relevance in new forms of worship, both corporate and private.

Among the fifty-three books in the seven years of the 1960's, a strong segment was made up of pastoral books, evidently written in the same search for relevance. Four of them, Preaching From the Whole Bible by Giertz (B 302), One to One by Rolfsrud (B 1079), As One Who Speaks for God by Schneider (B 1129), and The Renewal of Liturgical Preaching by Bass (B 61), dealt with the problems and methods of communication. Two books discussed broadly the ministry and suggested new ways of pastoral work. Such were the Multiple Ministries by Martin Anderson (B 16) and Your Pastor's Problems by Hulme (B 479). The last book was a reprint edition with the permission of Doubleday and Company.

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New attention was given to the object of pastoral care, namely, the individual member of the congregation, through a study in pastoral psychology, the Unfragmented Man by Thile (B 1300), a translation from the German by Arthur J. Seegers. Two books by Peder Olson, Pastoral Care and Psychotherapy (B 919), a translation from the Norwegian by Herman E. Jorgensen and Healing Through Prayer (B 918), a translation by John Jensen, dealt with the same subject.

Besides these nine books in pastoral theology and homiletics, to be noted is the very comprehensive Making of Ministers (B 119), which addressed itself to the root of the problem as well as to the solution, i.e., theological education.

A heavy emphasis was also given to the Reformation and to Martin Luther. Nine titles during the seven years examined the Lutheran heritage. They were Luther in the 20th Century,[200] Martin Luther: the Reformation Years (B 619), Love for the Neighbor in Luther's Theology (B 1381), Rediscovering the Natural in Protestant Theology (B 1111), The Reformation . . . Then and Now (B 13) and Marburg Revisited (B 240). Two of the publications were textual renditions of original writings by Martin Luther (B 772, 772a) and one was selections from the writings of Melanchton (B 811a).

This perennial self-analysis and self-interest in Lutheranism is well exemplified with these nine books above. It should not be overlooked that among the first group of the 1960's--scholarly publications--seven other titles were identified as dealing with Luther, the Reformation or with Lutheran Orthodoxy (B 107, 165, 567, 815, 970, 1109, and

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[200] This book was edited by Peter Brunner and Bernhard J. Holm and was published officially by the Luther College Press in Decorah, Iowa, in 1961. The printing, promotion, and distribution was, however, done by Augsburg Publishing House.

1360). The categories of historical writings and biography below will further exemplify this retrospective and introspective preoccupation of Lutherans.

Some other studies were published in vital subject areas. Three of them were on Kierkegaard: *Kierkegaard's Way to the Truth* by Malantschuk (B 790), *Kierkegaard and Bultmann* by Wolf (B 1364), and a paperback edition of the *Edifying Discourses* in two volumes (B 535). Three studies dealt with Christology: *Kerygma or Gospel Tradition* by Bartels (B 59), the *Continuing Search for the Historical Jesus* by Jervell (B 501), and *His Only Son, Our Lord: Ideas About the Christ* by Kent Knutson (B 563). Three studies dealt with an examination of other faiths: *Your Neighbor's Faith: a Lutheran Looks at Other Churches* by Poovey (B 966), *Infant Baptism and Adult Conversion* by Hallesby (B 384a), and *Speaking in Tongues* by Stolee (B 1265). The last two books were reprintings of earlier editions: the first from the Lutheran Free Church Publishing Company's book of 1924 of the same title (B 385); the other was a reprint of a 1936 title called *Pentacostalism* (B 1264). Surprisingly, there were only three volumes of Biblical studies: *The Sacred Sixty-Six* by Aaseng (B 2), *The Miracle of Mark* by Harrisville (B 413), and *Make a Joyful Noise* by Betsy Warren (B 1340), studying the use of musical instruments of the Bible. The absence of Biblical studies need not suggest that the American Lutheran Church was uninterested in the Bible, for the curriculum materials, amounting to about twenty per cent of the whole business volume of the publishing house, dealt mainly with Biblical studies. The volume of sales for curriculum materials exceeded five times the volume of books published and sold by Augsburg Publishing House in 1967.[201]

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[201] *Augsburg Publishing House Reports, 1967*, p. 33a. Archives Collection, Augsburg Publishing House.

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An interest and concern about the younger generation of the church is exemplified in the five publications on youth and youth-related matters. Two of these, What Youth Are Thinking (B 1244) by Smedsrud and The In-Between Years (B 1283a) by Swanson, were analytic attempts to understand youth; two others, Of Test Tubes and Testaments by Holum (B 465) and The Church College in Today's Culture by Doescher (B 223), examined the science-religion conflict Lutheran college students experience, and one of the books was an affirmation and exhortation written for the benefit of the young, I Believe In . . . the Communion of Teenage Saints by Norem (B 897).

The historical and biographical publications of the decade were only ten. There were seven biographies, of which Four Northern Lights by Arden (B 22), Justus Jonas, Loyal Reformer by Lehmann (B 620), and Soderblom: Ecumenical Pioneer by Curtis (B 198) were life stories of Lutheran luminaries. Three others, Damsel from Afar by Larsen (B 603), The Story of Paul by Kallas (B 525), and The Fleeting Follower by Hoffman, translated by Bernhard H. J. Habel (B 459), were studies of Biblical characters. One biography, the Tender Tyrant by Carvel Lee (B 612), was a pathetic story of a mentally retarded child similar to the "victory" books over polio, blindness, and other forms of suffering (B 886, 611, 524) in the decade of the 1950's.

In history proper, the 1960's produced a volume of western frontier history, In the Face of the West Wind by Gullixson (B 364); a volume of denominational history, The United Evangelical Lutheran Church by John Jensen (B 497); and one volume of contemporary history, Scandinavian Churches (B 866a), a book by several authors translated and edited by Leslie Hunter and E. Clifford Nelson, who also wrote the introduction.

In examining the total of thirty-seven titles listed as children's books in the annual book lists of the publishing house, it is obvious that most of them do not qualify for inclusion in the *Checklist of Monographs* and as objects of our survey. The fifty-page minimum size would exclude thirty-two of these publications. Only five have qualified, two of which are included in the adult category as these are books about youth and not necessarily for youth (B 1244, B 966); one is excluded as a regular reprint of an earlier title (B 879). Thus, only Oeiestad's *My First Bible Book* (B 915) and Kleinhans' *Printer's Devil from Wittenberg* (B 558) qualify: the first with sixty-four and the other with 208 pages. Upon examination of the children's books of the 1960's, it is evident that many of these titles are elaborate and well-designed titles from which ten have been chosen to exemplify the production of children's books by the house. In spite of the limited scope and paucity of text, most of the children's books were priced $1.75 or more in retail sales and sold extremely well. A number of these books were of European origin, but hardly required a translation by a specialist. The manuscript editor, Paul T. Martinson, translated the German and Norwegian texts himself. The art work was reprinted unchanged from the original editions. One successful group of such children's books was Rudolf Otto Wiemer's *Jonah and the Big Fish* (B 1357c), *Joseph and His Brothers* (B 1357d), *Joseph in Egypt* (B 1357e), *Noah's Ark* (B 1357f), and *The Prodigal Son* (B 1357g). The art work in the Wiemer titles was done by Reinhard Herrmann. The printing of these books was done in Germany. Locally printed and illustrated by American artists were *The Christmas Donkey* by Wilma Swedburg,[202]

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[202] This forty-eight page title was published in 1961. The artist was Robert Knutson.

It's Time to Talk to God by John Golisch (B 327a), Danny's Straw Hat by Edith B. Eckblad (B 234a), The Little Man from Jericho by Betty Ellingboe (B 238a), and Whose Zoo? by James S. Kerr (B 533a).

In the area of fiction, the seven years of the 1960's yielded only three novels: Call Back the Years by Shank (B 1206), The Beast of Babylon by Joscelyn (B 521), and No Uncertain Sound by Proctor (B 984). Another book of fiction, Parson McFright by Allen Whitman, an Episcopalian rector, is a collection of short stories dealing with church life and the foibles of the ministry (B 1357).

There was only one conventional volume of poetry during the 1960's, I Sing of Mary's Child by Melva Rorem (B 1087a). It was a collection of her Christmas poems designed to serve the Christmas gift book market.

A very unconventional form combining two media, art and poetry, was used by Herbert Brokering in two of his books, In the Rustling Grass (B 123) and In Due Season (B 122). The art photography for both books was done by Sister Noemi. Another book in an interdisciplinary area was Morality and the Muses; Christian Faith and Art Forms by Johan Hygen (B 483), a professor at the University of Oslo.

Two more unusual books are Anyone Can Teach (They Said) by Rolf Aaseng (B 1a) and Augsburg Historical Atlas of Christianity by Charles S. Anderson. The first is a collection of humorous anecdotes regarding Sunday School teaching, the other a colorful reference atlas for teaching Sunday School (B 11).

In the area of practical church work, the house produced twenty practical handbooks. Nine of them assisted in congregational affairs. It is a most interesting array of books on topics from leading a meeting with *Mister/Madam Chairman* (B 417) to leading a choir with *The Choir School* (B 764). These publications include a *Practical Guide for Altar Guilds* (B 102), *Toward Better Church Committees* (B 106), *Accounting Methods for the Small Church* (B 462), *Advertising the Local Church* (B 150), *Older Members in the Congregation* (B 1065), and two aids for the church library, a revised *Key to a Successful Church Library* (B 502) and a new and different *Planning and Furnishing the Church Library* (B 511a).

Another group of five titles in this practical group comprised books on education and child rearing. *Those Most Important Years; Christian Training in Early Education* (B 925) and *The Christian Parent Teaches About Sex* (B 1201) are handbooks to parents. *Puppets Can Teach Too* (B 858) and *The Key to Good Church Drama* (B 533) are aids to teachers or superintendents. Another education book, *Pre-Seminary Education*, was published on the education needs of future ministers. This book is aimed to serve the teachers of theological seminaries (B 120).

Three books of this practical church work area are aids to ministers: *Money Management for Ministers* (B 463), *Ministering to Alcoholics* (B 531), *Pastor to Pastor* (B 199), in which Daehlin, a district president, advises pastors in practical matters of parish administration.

Augsburg Publishing House produced, in the 1960's, a text edition of *Luther's Large Catechism* (B 766), a supplemented section of the *Service Book and Hymnal* entitled *Occasional Services from the Service Book and Hymnal Together With Additional Orders and Offices* (B 914), and a Revised Standard Version of *The Holy Bible*, printed by the Thomas Nelson Company for Augsburg Publishing House, with an unchanged text, but with special introductory helps by Gerhard Frost (B 78a) bound with it.

The constant support of foreign missions, which the Augsburg Publishing House had traditionally given over the decades, was present also

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during the 1960's. During the seven years, there were seven books on various aspects of mission work, from informative general descriptions of the fields in World Missions of the American Lutheran Church by Lerberg (B 653) to a small biography volume like Missionary Pioneers of the American Lutheran Church by Hesterman (B 451). There was a volume on New Guinea, New Branches on the Vine by Koschade (B 565); one on China, All the Bandits of China by Jurgensen (B 523); one on South Africa, Back of Beyond by Kjome (B 556); and one on the mission work in India, Bells Still Are Calling by Kristofer Hagen (B 379). A very interesting book is To The End of the Earth by Syrdal (B 1288), giving a rather theological and theoretical discussion of the principles underlying mission work.

The seven years of the 1960's, finally, produced thirty-four devotionals[203] and ten sermon compilations,[204] continuing its faithful

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[203] The devotional publications were Crossroads of Lent by Anderson (B 20), The Cross and the Creed by Belgum (B 70), These Things I Remember by Frost (B 284), Home Is Where God Is by Gangsei (B 285), and The Cross and Crises by Golf (B 327), Call Her Blessed (B 367), and What Am I Praying? (B 370) both by Gyldenvand, The Savior's Suffering by Hanson (B 401b), They Were There, When They Crucified My Lord by Heins (B 445a), These Met the Master by Hill (B 454), The Prince and the Prophet by Hoversten (B 471), In the Hollow of His Hand by Jensen (B 500), Profiles of the Christ by Kvamme (B 601), According to the Scriptures by Liefeld (B 661), Pathways of the Passion by Loenning (B 674c), Light at Eventide by Lunde (B 756), Luther's Prayers as edited by Brokering (B 767a), Diary of an Old Soul by MacDonald (B 787), Older Than Eden by McKirachen (B 787c), Where Jesus Walks by Nelson (B 871), A Book of Prayers for Boys and Girls--a reprint by Neumann (B 879), They Came to a Place by Otterstad (B 925a), And Pilate Asked (B 962), Cross Words; Sermons and Dramas for Lent by Poovey (B 962a), God's Promises and Our Prayers by Preus (B 976), Thy Word in My Heart by Reid (B 996), Captured by Mystery by Rogness (B 1072), Wonder in God's Wilderness by Schmiechen (B 1126a), The Man of Sorrows by Steinhaeuser (B 1260), What Language Shall I Borrow by Streng (B 1269), Oremus by Strodoch (B 1272), This Is My Song of Songs by Syverud (B 1289), That I May Live in His Kingdom by Ulrich (B 1323), and Altar Prayers for the Church Year by Zeidler (B 1379).

[204] The sermon collection for the years 1961-1967 were Exodus Into the World by Halvorson (B 394), God's Hall of Mirrors by Gullixson (B 363), Good News for Every Person (B 406) and Out of Old Ruts (B 408)

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service to the demands of the church for aids in devotions, meditation, and sermon materials.

In appraising and surveying book publishing by the Augsburg Publishing House, one should not forget the effort that has annually gone into curriculum and music publishing. In 1961 alone there were forty-eight new curriculum titles published, some of them like *What is the Church* by James H. Hanson (B 405), extremely well-organized lessons provided elaborately with instructors' guides and work books. In 1962, there were fifty-nine curriculum items published, but in 1963 there were eighty-three titles. As an example of a popular title of 1963, *Where It Happened in Bible Times* (B 302b), sold nearly 8500 copies during the years 1963-1967.

Since the curriculum included adult programs, some of the titles were rather thorough in content and coverage. In 1964, among the fifty-three items published were *Decision Making: steps in Problem Solving for Church Groups* by Norman L. Langholz (B 602a), *How to Write Better Curriculum* by Marion A. Johnson (B 511c), *Religious Curriculum for the Christian Kindergarten* by Estelle Griffen (B 348a), and *The Bible; Book of Faith* by the theological professors of the American Lutheran Church (B 9b). In 1965, among seventy-six items, Professor William E. Hulme published, in the curriculum series, a 120-page manual called *Building a Christian Marriage*, a book that was assigned from Prentice Hall, the original publisher (B 477a). The record number of ninety-eight curriculum titles were produced in 1967.

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by Oscar Hanson, *Preaching for Tethered Man* (B 441) by Heimark, *The Answer of Faith* by Jensen (B 499), *Thunder in the Wilderness* by Paulson (B 931a), *They Welcomed the Child* by Schmidt (B 1110), *Even If I'm Bad?* by Thompson (B 1306), and *Looking God's Way* by Reuben Youngdahl (B 1377).

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Among the music materials, which ranged annually from 70 to 170 titles, were some important titles like the Chorale Anthems Based on Chorale Preludes by Pasquet (B 929a) in 1961, Unison and Two Part Anthems by Pooler (B 961a) in 1962, The Organist's Edition of the Liturgy (B 924a) in 1963, The Instruction Book for Beginning Organists by David Johnson (B 510b), the Hymn of the Week (B 483a) in 1965, and Hymns; How To Sing Them by Mandus Egge (B 234d) in 1966. Two particularly impressive music publications in 1967 were Organ Improvisations by Krapf (B 566b) and The Lutheran Chorale by Riedel (B 1062a).

The crescendo of book publishing during the first seven years of the sixties was continued throughout the decade. According to the managerial reports, eighty-five book titles were published in 1968 and 1969. In addition, during the last three years of the decade, the house completed "a new, major and total" curriculum for the church body. Each of the three years it published on the average of ninety-four items for thirty-six courses. A major effort began in 1969 for a complete revision of the junior high curriculum to be made ready for use in 1971. Also, 160 new choral anthems and other music were published in 1969.

Its business volume and productivity rated the Augsburg Publishing House, in 1969, as the fourth largest Protestant publisher, although the American Lutheran Church was, in that year, only the ninth largest Protestant denomination in the United States.[205]

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[205] The information on the years 1968 and 1969 was gleaned from Augsburg Publishing House Report 1969, pp. 204-209.

III. TRENDS OF BOOK PUBLISHING IN THE AMERICAN LUTHERAN CHURCH AND IN THE ANTECEDENT SYNODS (1917-1967) AND THEIR EVALUATION

The fifty year period in the development of The American Lutheran Church has been a time of marked changes. Indeed, when the Ohio Joint Synod or the Norwegian Lutheran Church of 1917 is compared with The American Lutheran Church of 1967, it is difficult to believe that the latter grew out of the former. If the comparison is made with the Lutheran Free Church or the United Danish Evangelical Lutheran Church of 1917, the difference is even more remarkable. Indeed, the half-century span has changed The American Lutheran Church to such an extent that, on the surface, its name and its adherence to the traditional creeds seem to be its only link to its historical components. A more penetrating comparison reveals, of course, more similarities between the past and present forms of the churches.

Around 1917 and during the decade following, the synods surveyed in this study were small ethnic Lutheran groups with strong national characteristics, still using the vernacular as their official language and still seeking to implement the goal of their immigrant forefathers, which was to preserve their ethnic and ecclesiastic identity. The American Lutheran Church of the 1960's, on the other hand, had almost completely lost any ethnic character and had become, through the melting together of the former immigrant groups, a new entity--an American Protestant church.

The predominant theological views in the synodical bodies, although not the same in all of them, were of a conservative orthodox variety. They all aspired to embrace a true historical Lutheranism and strove to achieve doctrinal purity, although they had no consensus in defining their ideals. The various interpretations of the traditional Lutheran confessions and of certain key doctrines produced among the synods bitter rivalry and deep-seated suspicion. Even among synods aspiring to fellowship, the theological dialogues were more like mutual cross-examination, each scrutinizing the other without mercy. The result of these colloquia was a postponement of pulpit and altar fellowship or an outright withdrawal from fellowship. The American Lutheran Church of the 1960's was the result of a centripetal movement once the doctrinal rigidity and its accompanying centrifugal tendency had lost strength. The theological narrow mindedness and the search for errors in the other's views was now replaced by flexibility and latitude in interpreting tradition. In the permissive atmosphere of the 1960's, even the most liberal Lutherans found tacit acceptance as fellow members within the church, although their views were not shared by the conservative majority.

Another change that took place during the fifty years was in the size and the make-up of the membership. The synods at the outset were small rural bodies made up of small and widely scattered congregations. The American Lutheran Church was among the ten largest Protestant denominations in the United States and its membership was predominantly urban. Even in rural areas, the congregations had consolidated themselves in larger units, thus being able to have better facilities and to administer better programs and services.

Finally, from official statements and doctrinal pronouncements, it is evident that the Lutheran synods surveyed shared the notion which Lutherans historically have maintained--that they possess and teach the truth, and that due to the purity of doctrine the Lutheran Church can claim to be the true church. Ironically, Lutherans have had little

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consensus in theology among themselves, yet in the early years of their sojourn in the United States they continued the proud stance so common to them before the immigration in considering all non-Lutherans as sects and denominations steeped in errors and heresies. The Lutheran synods around 1917 and the decades following also maintained the traditional belligerent attitude toward the Roman Catholic church, their historical antagonist. The merger of 1960 and the subsequent moves for more inclusive inter-Lutheran cooperation, testify to a completely changed and matured Lutheranism. The American Lutheran Church sent observers to the Second Vatican Council (1962-1965) and, although it had not joined the National Council of Churches of Christ in America, it was a member of the World Council of Churches and considered other churches as different, but worthy and equal partners. The changes in the American Lutheran Church have parallel developments in the Lutheran Church in America, these two bodies together representing two-thirds of Lutherans in America.[1]

The reasons for the changes have been suggested above as a combination of theological and sociological factors, of which the Americanization of Lutheranism was, probably, the strongest force.

The changes in the character of Lutheranism were, to some extent, reflected in the publications of The American Lutheran Church. But these reflections were sporadic or occasional at best, just as the earlier rigidity of Lutheranism was not always manifested in its publications. It is true that, until the late 1920's, the publishing list contained many books in the vernacular and that, after World War II, foreign language publications were a rarity, but this was the only area in which the change within Lutheranism was markedly manifest in publications. There were hints at the other changes. The early years produced a few titles critical of the Roman Catholic Church (B 300, 1226) and a few titles extolling ethnic feats and history (B 272, 1210, 1211), whereas later the publications concerning the Catholic church were more objective or even appreciative (B 666, 986, 1241a), and some were decidedly ecumenical (B 866a, 835, 198). But these publications were too few in number to constitute a trend or to serve as evidence to support a generalization. At best, these books could serve as an illustration of a tendency substantiated and documented otherwise. The documentation of the changes in doctrinal climate, therefore, must depend on official records, annual reports, minutes of inter-church dialogues, and other similar sources.

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[1] A good discussion of the change is given in _The Maturing of American Lutheranism_, a book edited by Herbert T. Neve and Benjamin A. Johnson in honor of Willard Dow Allbeck (Minneapolis: Augsburg Publishing House, 1968). The changes in the Lutheran Church-Missouri Synod have been slower. This church has retained the stance of caution and close scrutiny of other churches and has avoided participation in ecumenical and inter-denominational ventures on doctrinal grounds. Although the Missouri Synod has joined the Lutheran Council in the United States since 1967, it has been reluctant to seek closer fellowship for purposes of a merger with the American Lutheran Church and Lutheran Church in America.

Despite the changes occurring in this fifty-year period, the list of the 1,475 publications published between 1917 and 1967 also indicates some constants in church life which remained unchanged and unchallenged throughout the five decades. One such unchanged preoccupation of the American Lutheran Church and its antecedent synods has been its confessional heritage, especially the Reformation period and the life and work of Martin Luther. The small, the large, the early, and the late synods alike have displayed a steady interest not only in the Augsburg Confession, in Martin Luther, but also in the historical events that caused the emergence of each particular Lutheran denomination. Frequent retrospective and appreciative references to the tradition as argumentative and rhetorical devices occur in church conventions, as prooftexts in documents, as arguments for or against certain actions and programs. Martin Luther is frequently quoted; his biography provides a mine of illustrations and his teachings are taken as the final word in disputes over controversial subjects. There has also been a surprising unanimity in observing the Reformation and the Reformation-related festivities and celebrations, and Lutheran synods have cooperated well in making arrangements and joining hands in witnessing to the world of their joint heritage.

This retrospective and confessional direction of the Lutheran synods is well represented in their publications. There has been a steady stream of monographs published and distributed dealing with the Lutheran past. The most frequent publication in this category has been the catechism--an introduction to the Lutheran doctrines in questions and answers with Biblical prooftexts.

Another preoccupation of the Lutheran churches has been Biblical studies. The Lutherans have accepted the Bible as the Word of God rather literally and the more conservative Lutherans have accepted the doctrine of verbal inspiration, that is, the belief that every word in the Biblical text has been caused to be written by God. Hence, the interest in studying, interpreting, and proclaiming the truths of the Bible. A measure of how seriously Lutherans have considered the Bible and its contents is the publishing output. An impressive number of publications annually have been introductory, exegetical studies of the Bible, devotionals, sermon anthologies, scripture compilations, Biblical personality studies or some other Bible-related publications.

The third constant concern of the Lutherans in general and of the Lutheran groups studied in particular has been education or, rather, parochial education. This third concern, in essence, included the other two, because the effort of religious education included the study of the Lutheran heritage as well as the study of Biblical material. The desire to transmit these truths created parochial schools, Sunday Schools, Vacation Bible Schools, various released time schools, adult instruction, confirmation instruction, and Bible study programs in the congregation. These programs, in turn, led to the need for teacher education and church-related college programs in the synod. This concern of the church to teach children, youth and adults, called for curriculum materials, giving the church-related publishing houses an immense task. Being confessionally oriented, with a high regard for their own history and tradition, each synod at the outset proceeded independently. Doctrinal consensus on the essentials permitted later cooperation between some synods, and they developed joint curriculum series. Among the publications surveyed during the fifty years were a surprising number of books for study and teaching as monographs outside the curriculum series. The authors of these books were clergymen or professors of theology who , through these books, taught in extension outside their classes.

The Lutheran church, although flexible enough to change and to become Americanized to a degree, retained its confessional character and developed programs of study and teaching in the Biblical field and in other areas, due to a certain set of principles and theological particularities. These basic theological foundations, then, form the dynamics of book or manuscript selection for publishing and explain the basic characteristics of the booklists of the church-related publishing establishments.

A. The Dynamics of Book Selection and the Basic Characteristics of the Annual Book Lists Prevalent in the Publishing Establishments Under Study

The Lutheran church in general and The American Lutheran Church and its antecedent church bodies in particular have had theological particularities which have affected publishing. One of these has been the doctrine of the priesthood of all believers and its implications. The other has been the concept of the congregation as a visible expression of the invisible Kingdom of God. The local congregations, in this sense, were the fellowship in which the sacraments were rightly administered, the matrix of true worship, the communion of saints--all of which were demanding ideals for the individuals. In addition, the local congregations were the milieu for any activity of the church at large. Due to these two basic theological notions, unlike some other liturgically oriented churches, Lutherans did not establish hierarchical and sacerdotal structures of church life, or fully develop a strict dichotomy between clergy and laymen.

In one instance, a synod developed a completely democratic ecclesiology. The Guiding Principles and Working Rules of the Lutheran Free Church affirmed in the first principle that "according to the Word of God, the congregation [local church] is the right form of the Kingdom of God on earth" and in the fifth principle asserted that it should have "no other ecclesiastical authority or government over itself except the authority of the Word of God and of the Spirit."[2]

The Lutheran Free Church, with its concept of the free and independent congregations, accentuated the democratic responsibilities more

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[2] Clarence J. Carlson, The Years of Our Church (Minneapolis: The Lutheran Free Church Publishing Company, 1942), pp. 39-46.

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than other synods. But the others also guarded the principles of local autonomy and defended the rights of congregations against the inroads of hierarchic power.

The doctrine of the priesthood of all believers in combination with the concept of the autonomy of congregations developed a sense of responsibility among members for each other. They were responsible for each other's welfare and for the spiritual welfare of those outside of the fold. And in this responsibility there was no shortcut and no other mediator (priest or bishop). The Lutheran layman learned to be taught and to teach, to assume and to assign responsibility, to hear and to proclaim. But the content of his transmitted message was not a religious experience and a subjective opinion. The Lutheran layman taught what he had learned and was confirmed in, namely, the Lutheran creeds, the catechism, Biblical history, and the Gospel of the New Testament. Indeed, a Lutheran could not join a Lutheran congregation unless he signed or confessed his allegiance to these basic elements of faith. In the same manner, a minister could not be ordained, and when ordained he could not be installed, unless he confessed his faith and pledged his allegiance to the historical creeds of the church.

It is quite understandable that a church that requires intellectual or creedal consent and a certain body of religious knowledge will need ample study and teaching materials for formal and informal educational programs.

An additional dynamic force in Lutheran publishing and educational programs came from the doctrine of individual responsibility to God. In this doctrine, Lutherans, like other Protestants, taught that for obtaining the grace of God no device, no merits of others, no mediator, not even good deeds were of any help. Only the individual himself, through the knowledge of his condition, through contrition and confession of his sins, could obtain divine forgiveness. Every individual had, thus, to discover the love of God by himself. In order to attain spiritual sensitivity, maturity and knowledge, books were in demand. Devotionals, meditation and sermon anthologies, and prayer books were provided in great numbers and the market for these books was always good.

The desire for gradual self-improvement and the need for periodic spiritual renewal among the readers necessitated new varieties and new approaches in devotional literature. Thus, during the spring of every year, the larger publishing houses published one or two new Lenten meditation books, in addition to some daily devotionals and a sermon collection.

The last dynamic force to be mentioned here as making an impact upon publishing activities was a combination of a tradition and a form of piety. The Lutheran church is traditionally a singing church and congregational singing is an integral part of every worship service. Singing has been considered as the laity's response to the Word of God in the act of worship ever since the Reformation. Indeed, Martin Luther began this lay involvement in worship through singing and, as such, he has been referred to as the father of the evangelical Lutheran hymnody.

The Roman Catholic mass, in its Latin setting and dominated by clerical and sacerdotal considerations, excluded the laity from an active involvement. No doubt, the chanting of the clergy and the trained monastic choirs, especially after the liturgical reforms of Gregory the Great, gave the Mass an impressive and artistic form, yet the laity was confined to a mere listening, reciting, and observing.

Martin Luther found a theological rationale for the singing of hymns by laymen in worship. He was convinced and taught that the doctrine of the priesthood of all believers and the bestowal of the grace of God and the divine forgiveness in the act of worship necessitated a direct response in song.

According to Luther, the congregation was also to receive daily guidance from the Word of God, and so, in writing hymns, Luther versified Bible portions, especially Psalms, so that the worshipper could memorize them more readily and retain them as a guide through life.

The change to this participatory worship is well described by the noted Protestant historian of the Reformation, Jean Henry Merle d'Aubigné.[3]

It can be generalized, without fear of contradiction, that the doctrinal idiosyncrasies, the peculiar ethical accents, and the retrospective orientation of Lutheranism created a very favorable climate for a publishing enterprise. The need for the printed word led to the genesis of publishing. Certainly, boards or committees of publications came first and then the organized and established publishing concerns. But the boards of publication and the publishing concerns did not create the need; they served as regulating devices created by the church to implement the publishing programs needed by the constituency. The demand for books needed not to be created and the publishers seldom resorted to a consumer market development. The thirst for books had already been created by a theological and ideological dynamic and the publishers had the relatively simple task of providing the potential reader with the

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[3] J. H. Merle d'Aubigné, History of the Reformation of the Sixteenth Century, trans. H. White (New York: American Tract Society, n.d.), pp. 176, 177.

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expected materials.

In the task of planning and selecting publications, the larger synods had the assistance of the respective departments of parish education or the boards of parish education.[4]

In most instances, the other synodical departments concerned with education helped the publishing concerns to see the needs in the congregations and schools and recommended actions. In some instances, parish education departments developed curriculum materials and published them outside the publishers' lists. The relationship between the boards of publication and the boards of parish education were never well defined; this sometimes caused friction.

The technical process of manuscript selection for publication in the smaller synodical structures was done by the general manager himself. Either independently or under the mandate from an annual conference, he would proceed to initiate the writing of a manuscript or would negotiate a contract with an author over a ready manuscript. He would assume the role of interpreter of the constituencies' needs and as the last authority in the design of the publishing program. In the larger churches, this responsibility was given to the literature committees appointed by the boards of publication.

In general, the selection of authors by the manager or by the literature committee has been dominated by conservative considerations. Writings that would appeal to the majority of constituents were consistently sought. Very little experimentation and exploration in doctrinal matters was permitted, although in curriculum materials some search for novelty and modernization was made. Quite commonly, the stature and the doctrinal orthodoxy of a certain author, provided he was popular, guaranteed his repeated publications. Such prolific trend-setting authors have been J. M. Reu, R. C. H. Lenski, G. W. Lose, F. M. Christiansen, O. Hallesby and many more on a more limited scale.

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[4] These departments were organized, at times, for various levels or functions of education and, then, were called departments of elementary education, higher education, Christian education, etc.

In closing the survey of dynamic forces undergirding Lutheran publishing and of the basic characteristics of the publishing lists, some negative considerations should be pointed out. Nearly all Lutheran publishers in this study have publications that were directed against some endangering circumstances, some competing doctrine, some form of "heresy" or fallacy, warning their constituents of contamination.

As the members of Lutheran congregations, especially those in the cities, lived in a heterogeneous society and came in contact with the practices and beliefs of other churches, they could not always maintain the certainty of righteousness with which they had been indoctrinated or could not counter deviant beliefs with proper criticism. Ministers, especially those in administrative positions, felt alarmed and threatened by the pluralism of American society and by the inroads of non-Lutheran beliefs and practices in the congregations. In order to strengthen the Lutheran in his dealings with other Protestants, an array of publications appeared, most of them in pamphlet form, but also some rather extensive monographs against Pentecostalism, Methodism, and other major religious movements. Some critical literature appeared quite late, such as the Religious Truth and Religious Delusions by Nervig (B 871a) in 1941. This battle literature ceased to be published with the upsurge of ecumenical activities and the involvement of the churches in international relief work and in cooperative missions at home and abroad.

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B. Basic Trends of Book Publishing in the American Lutheran Church

After surveying the theological and ideological similarities of Lutherans that caused them to resort to books for the purpose of strengthening and propagating their faith, it is not surprising to see in their publication lists not only marked similarities but, in some instances, an outright duplication of effort. Thus, within each synod or church, certain distinct book categories of broad subject areas have emerged. Each publisher surveyed has utilized these categories without conscious effort; however, in cases of small publishing programs, there was no effort to cover all of these categories.

The nature of this grouping, having been established by and used in the survey, has been retained for evaluating the trends of publishing within the fifty-year period and for measuring the total effort of publishing in the American Lutheran Church and its antecedent synods and churches.

The first group, entitled Core Publications, embraces the most basic needs of every congregation, i.e., the catechisms and Bible histories for confirmation instruction, curricula for Sunday Schools, and hymnals for corporate worship. The second and third group is Devotionals and Sermon Materials, which, likewise, is essential, but has not been as well and as generally developed as the Core. The fourth category is definitely the most substantial and scholarly of the categories; this is Theological and Biblical Studies, by which the adult Lutheran, clergy or layman, receives an extending continuing education. The fifth category is Historical and Biographical Publications, which contains the retrospective and self-study books, including some geographical publications about the homeland and the Biblical lands. The sixth and seventh categories are

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the Practical and Promotional Publications and Foreign Missions Publications. The great number of books on foreign missions necessitates the establishment of a separate category. The Children's Books and Fiction, Belletristic and Poetry Publications are the eighth and ninth groups. The few non-classifiable items form the tenth group of Various Publications.

The total distribution of monographic publications and the resulting numerical and percentage values within each category are as follows:

The Distribution of the Monographic Publications by Subject Categories

	number of titles		per cent of total	
1. Core Publications		140		9.5
Catechisms	34		2.3	
Bible Histories	8		0.5	
Curricula	95		-	
Hymnals	98		6.7	
2. Devotional Materials		129		8.8
3. Sermon Materials		92		6.2
4. Theological and Biblical Studies		307		20.8
Dogmatic	101		6.8	
Biblical	80		5.4	
Life and Faith	65		4.4	
Non-Lutheran Studies	25		1.7	
Pastoral Theology	23		1.6	
Philosophy	9		0.6	
Texts	4		0.3	
5. Historical and Biographical Publications		164		11.1
Historical-Biographical Books	43		2.9	
Books on the Reformation and Martin Luther	100		6.8	

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	number of titles		per cent of total	
Geographical and Travel Titles	21		1.4	
6. Practical and Promotional Publications		74		5.0
7. Foreign Missions Publications		72		4.9
8. Children's Books		359		24.3
9. Fiction, Belletristic and Poetry Publications		125		8.5
10. Various Publications		13		0.9
Total		1475		100.0

1. The Core Publications and the Common Publication Needs of Congregations

A group of publications present in all publishing lists in this survey was called Core Publications, as it represented the basic book needs of congregations. All publishers surveyed produced catechisms, Bible histories, hymnals and Sunday School materials.

a. Catechisms

Catechisms as teaching materials and oral catechisation as a method of instruction before baptism, confirmation, or acceptance into membership have been known in the Christian church since the very beginnings. Aside from the evidences of such practices in the New Testament, there are early forms of catechisms preserved by the early church. Later catechisms for instructing children and common people were used in every country and language in which the Christian church had established itself. The brief dialogue form of the catechism was exceptionally well suited for oral instruction and memory work with the illiterate and the uneducated.

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Martin Luther found the catechisation method very helpful and began, in 1516, to instruct his congregation with catechetical sermons, reprinting them as posters for home use in abbreviated form. He also republished these sermons in full form to be used by ministers. Short explanations of the Decalog, the Lord's Prayer, and the Creed were incorporated in Luther's *Small Catechism* in 1529, and during the same year the *Large Catechism* was developed from the full catechetical sermons.

The *Large Catechism*, although frequently republished and translated into many languages, was not as popular as the *Small Catechism*, which, over the four centuries since its first appearance, has remained one of the main sources of instruction in the Lutheran church.

The basic content of Luther's *Small Catechism*, however, was never fully left alone either in translations or in republications. Usually a body of questions and answers, scripture passages, quotations, and hymns were added to explain and supplement the statements of Luther. In some curriculum sets, a teacher's manual was further added to elaborate on the explanations. Usually, the simple text of Martin Luther's *Small Catechism* was reprinted in its brevity as an addendum in the more elaborate *Explanations* or was published as an *Enchiridion* (B 1020) separately.

Every Lutheran synod in this survey, except the Buffalo Synod, had one or more editions of the *Small Catechism*. There were also occasional catechisms published jointly, like the one to commemorate the 400th anniversary of the catechism of Martin Luther in 1929 (B 768).

Most catechism texts were in question and answer form; occasionally, however, a thetic form was used. The text, at times, was arranged in lesson form deviating from the three-part division (B 216) and had many supplements (B 1022, 1022a). Most of the time the *Small Catechism* was identified with the original author, Martin Luther, by placing his name in the title. Important hierarchical personalities were featured as authors because of their explanations in modifying the original text. Thus known were Sverdrup (B 1282b), Lache (B 601a), and Loehe catechisms (B 673), among others. At times, the author's name was featured prominently, as in the case of Reu (B 1030, 1038, 1039), Dell (B 216, 217), and Grimsby (B 352).

Altogether, there were twenty-five versions of the Small Catechism texts known and used in The American Lutheran Church and its antecedent synods during the time period 1917-1967. There was only one Large Catechism (B 766) edition, but eight titles were published about the catechism as subject. The thirty-four titles, either of the catechism or about it, made up 2.3 per cent of the books published during the fifty years surveyed in this study.

This percentage is not high, yet it is comparatively high considering that the titles are really versions of one and the same title, tailored to do the same service in various settings. The early versions of the Small Catechism were independently and separately published books. In the last two decades, the contents of the catechism have been embodied in the curriculum series. Thus, the actual number of publications dealing with the catechism is much higher than the reported twenty-five titles. It is also for this reason that the versions of the Small Catechism as monographs have not been as much in demand.

b. Bible Histories

The scriptural orientation in matters of faith and life compelled the Lutherans constantly to study the contents of the Bible. Beginning with Martin Luther, who felt that with this Biblical emphasis he had

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challenged and improved upon the Roman Catholic concept of education for the laity and continuing throughout the centuries, the reading, the study, and the devotional use of the Bible was a common requirement of every Lutheran church member. Naturally, therefore, knowledge of the Bible became a very important objective in Lutheran parish education programs, especially in confirmation instruction. The problem, as it was generally recognized, was the great bulk of scriptural content, including a multitude of narratives with a marginal educational value, such as the genealogies and the sacrificial and architectural descriptions in the Old Testament as well as the references to sex and violence which could not well implement the goals of religious education for the young. Luther and his followers were reluctant to refine or Bowdlerize the Biblical text for immature audiences.[5] Martin Luther was fond of paraphrasing or retelling the narratives of the Bible for children and adults in the framework and concepts of his times and initiated with this method a prototype of procedure, although he did not produce a prototype publication such as he had given with the Small Catechism in the realm of doctrine.

In the centuries following, Lutherans used a variety of textbooks which rendered or paraphrased the essential stories of the Old and New Testaments. Among the Lutheran immigrants in the United States, such Biblical narrative texts were common, and by 1917, at the beginning of the survey of the synodical bodies preceeding The American Lutheran

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[5] Martin Luther, striving for direct meaning, chose crudities over refined polite phrases if the meaning was lost in such translation. This basic stance became a Lutheran tradition and prompted Biblical scholarship and the study of Greek and Hebrew in Lutheran Seminaries. It also caused repeated new translations of the Bible and sparked exegetical studies and the publishing of commentaries.

Church, all adhered to this tradition.

The textbooks used in these Lutheran parish education programs were either known as Bible Histories (B 1323a, 1327a) or Biblical Histories (B 82, 1006) or in some similar way in the particular vernacular (B 169, 1007). Contrary to the suggestion in the titles, these books never contained historical or literary-historical study of the Bible (higher criticism). Without any historical commentary and interpretation, these textbooks merely retold the more important Biblical narratives in a series of lessons. The textbooks were of varied difficulty levels for various age groups and contained illustrations, lesson review questions, memory verses, and several addenda. A typical Bible history was used in the Norwegian Lutheran Church. A very old book by Volrath Vogt entitled Bible History and Brief Outline of Church History translated by N. C. Brun, revised in 1919, rewritten by B. J. Muus, was continuously used throughout the church.[6] This text contained fifty Old Testament narratives, fifty-six New Testament narratives, ten brief outlines from Church History, a chronological table, and a map of Asia Minor and Palestine.

The importance of these Biblical histories diminished as more and more curriculum materials were developed which covered much better and in greater depth the contents of the Bible. Although some congregations still continue using the old texts and the old editions have been kept in print, no new attempts have been made at a comprehensive Biblical history. There have been scores of introductions, reading guides, and handbooks published to assist the layman in Biblical studies, which will be covered in section 1c, Curricula and Sunday School Needs, and section 4, Theological and Biblical Monographs. During the fifty years of publishing surveyed, there were only eight new Biblical histories, although older editions (before 1917) may also have been used. Even in re-editing some of these eight titles were included in curriculum series and, thus, bear the marks of either a graded or divided form.[7] The eight titles in Biblical history amounted to a very modest 0.5 per cent of the total of published books.

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[6] The oldest Norwegian American edition dates back before 1888 as Volrath Vogt's Bibelhistorie med nogle Forandringer samt En liden Kirkehistorie was re-edited by B. J. Muus and published in Decorah, Iowa, by Den Norske Synodes Forlag in 1888 (89pp.). The Augsburg Publishing House took the edition over after the merger of 1917. It is likely that the first Norwegian American edition was published in the 1860's, as the first English edition was in 1878, according to the catalog information at Augsburg Publishing House. The entry reads:

> Vogt, Volrath. Bible History for Christian Schools; Revised, together with a short church history, re-written by B. J. Muus. Translated from the Norwegian. Decorah, Iowa. Lutheran Publishing House, n.d. 1878, 122pp.

c. Curricula and Sunday School Needs

The Lutheran emphasis on religious education as a means of perpetuating, proselytizing, and sustaining their own faith necessitated curriculum materials, such as the Small Catechism and Biblical histories. However, the more demanding and more sophisticated tastes of modern students, and the increasingly higher quality standards of pastors and teachers in selecting teaching material, compelled the publishers to develop more elaborate and sophisticated curriculum materials. At the outset, these materials were sporadic monographs designated to serve a certain grade or a subject area, the marks of which were clearly stated in each title. Thus, the curriculum text Missionary Stories for Juniors by Edward Pfeiffer (B 945) provided the buyer with information in the title as to both the level and the subject matter of the book. In the 1930's and 1940's, more elaborate graded series for various age groups were provided by Wartburg Press and Augsburg Publishing House with a coordinated and systematic curriculum facilitating full coverage of a number of subjects as the student progressed through the Sunday School grade by grade. The 1967/68 curriculum material serving The American Lutheran Church was a very elaborate, closely-graded, multi-faceted network of series, supplemented by weekly educational graded periodicals.[8]

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[7] The general character of a Biblical history has been sustained in these publications: B 82, 1006, 1007, 1323a, 1327a. The graded and divided (O.T. and N.T.) character is exhibited in the following: B 81, 169, 947.

The growth from scattered efforts of mediocre publications in a number of synodical bodies to a curriculum network of excellent quality by a central publishing concern has been, indeed, a spectacular phenomenon. From 1961 to 1967, the Augsburg Publishing House of the merged The American Lutheran Church produced 482 curriculum titles.[9] The sales volume of the curriculum materials ranged from twenty to twenty-five per cent yearly, whereas the sales of the books of Augsburg Publishing House annually ranged only from 3.2 to 4.4 per cent of the total business volume. As most of the curriculum materials were published in series or were under fifty pages, they have not been included in the Checklist, nor were they surveyed in this study. Only ninety-five titles were considered and included in the survey as samples of the curriculum publications, but this number was excluded from calculations of percentages in measuring the distribution by subject categories. Of these ninety-five titles, twelve books were either in German or in Norwegian. Eight of the curriculum materials were program helps for Luther Leagues or similar groups, nineteen titles were for individualized study or for teacher education, fourteen titles were the Ten Studies monographs in a variety of subjects, and forty-two books were group study titles or examples of later parts of curriculum series.

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[8] A full listing of all the curriculum series is given in the Church and Sunday School Supply Catalog of Augsburg Publishing House 1967/68 or the Curriculum Catalog for The American Lutheran Church 1967/68. The curriculum-related papers in 1967/68 were Hand in Hand (grades 1-3), Steps (grades 4-6), Teenways (grades 7-9), and Edge (grades 10 and up). The Lutheran Teacher is a monthly periodical for Sunday School leaders and has been published since 1924.

[9] This included publications under fifty pages. The total listing is available in the biennial Reports and Actions of the General Conventions of the American Lutheran Church.

The variety of materials and the rapid expansion of the curriculum series in a very elaborate network with a thoroughly developed theological and philosophical framework and objectives, with work books, teachers' manuals, texts, and audio visual materials, should be explored in detail by a special study. A comparison with curriculum materials of the Lutheran Church in America and the Lutheran Church-Missouri Synod would ascertain the similarities and dissimilarities among the three major Lutheran curriculum publishers. It would, perhaps, establish the Augsburg Publishing House curriculum as the most contemporary and advanced material among the three.

d. Hymnals and Music Publications

The first three categories of core publications were related to the educational programs of the congregations. The hymnals had an even more central role as they implemented the most important function of the congregation, namely, its weekly corporate worship. As already mentioned above, lay participation in the Lutheran church singing was a new discovery of the Reformation and found great appeal, not only in the Sunday morning service but also in the meetings of the Sunday School, Luther Leagues, Mission Societies, Women's Missionary Federation, and in every

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group where the oneness of spirit needed corporate expression. Depending upon the nature of the groups' activities, the hymns and songs had their own kinds of melodies and texts and usually were compiled in a particular hymnal or song book.

In addition to hymns and spiritual songs, the hymnals or song books contained, also, the order of service, various liturgies or exercises of group activity. It was common that these liturgical parts of the hymnal were reprinted separately, becoming titles in their own right among the publications. Textually, the liturgies in the hymnal were identical with the ministerial acts of the minister or the agenda. Likewise coordinated with the hymnal was the music handbook or the manual of the organist.

Choral music, likewise, played an important part in Lutheran worship. It was again an expression of lay activity; however, this was a worship response with esthetic refinement, interpreting and performing a musical composition and a poetic creation as an enrichment of worship. Thus, in this context, three kinds of publications were generated: hymnals, liturgical materials, and choral and special music for enhancing corporate worship.

The fifty years of publishing activities produced altogether ninety-eight titles of music and liturgy. Of the total of 1475 publications, the music and liturgical publications made up a solid 6.7 per cent segment, of which forty-one titles or 2.8 per cent were hymnals or song books, forty titles or 2.7 per cent choral or church music,[10] and seventeen titles or 1.2 per cent were liturgical handbooks and orders of service.

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[10] This does not include the hundreds of octavo music publications published yearly by Augsburg Publishing House nor many other music compilations with less than fifty pages.

A number of titles making up 6.7 per cent of the total publications was not very impressive. It was, at best, a strong support of an ongoing trend in congregational life without innovations or experimentations to alter the traditional forms of singing and worshipping.

There were some innovative publications in Augsburg's more recent music lists[11] and the quantity of sheet music is very impressive. The real impact of the Augsburg Publishing House in the realm of music can be best measured if, in addition to the 6.7 per cent of music publications, the hundreds of octavo sheet music titles are duly considered. Another consideration is the number of hymnals produced. Of the ninety-eight titles of music and liturgy published, most were printed in about the same quantity as the average books. There were some hymnals whose great popularity in the congregations, however, made them outstanding bestsellers.

The cumulative total of the Lutheran Hymnary (B 775) sold was 340,436 copies.[12] This 1913 copyrighted hymnal of the Norwegian Synod was taken over and recopyrighted in 1918 by Augsburg Publishing House and was carried in stock all through the years of this survey. The Service Book and Hymnal (B 1205), a joint publication by Augsburg Publishing House and five other publishers, sold, in the first three years in The American Lutheran Church alone, nearly half a million copies.[13]

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[11] The music publications are listed in full in the biennial Reports and Actions of the General Conventions of the American Lutheran Church and in the Augsburg Music Catalog 1970-71 (Minneapolis: Augsburg Publishing House, n.d.).

[12] The sales total was cumulated from annual sales records in the Board of Publishing annual reports (all editions combined).

[13] The Service Book and Hymnal was published by Augsburg Publishing House with the Augustana Book Concern, Rock Island, Illinois;

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The volume of these hymnals translated into sales dollars was, indeed, spectacular. The hymnals amounted to 4.8 per cent of the total sales volumes, Augsburg Publishing House music 2.9 per cent in 1964. The combined music sales volume was 7.7 per cent, with Augsburg book sales totalling during the same year only 3.1 per cent, less than half of the music and hymnal volume. The net sales total of Augsburg Publishing House in 1964 was $7,559,402. In 1967, at the close of this survey, the Augsburg book sales percentage climbed to 4.4 and the combined music sales volume dropped to 6.9 per cent from a net sales total of $8,675,682.

Together with the core publications, it should be mentioned that, in order to meet obvious needs of its constituents and to provide information about the church, the publishing house issued for the church annual biennial reports, yearbooks or almanacs, which as serials are not covered in this survey. Also, the periodicals, the bulletin services, and the Christmas annuals performed service functions to the congregations which are related to the core categories above but which, likewise, are not covered in this study.

2. Devotional Publications

The theological climate of the Lutheran tradition affected publishing with its emphasis on the individual's responsibility before God and motivated parish education programs and corporate worship, in stressing the spiritual growth of the individual. This climate prompted, also, devotional materials. Although there were no attempts to standardize or

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Lutheran Publishing House, Blair, Nebraska; Finnish Lutheran Book Concern, Hancock, Michigan; United Lutheran Publishing House, Philadelphia, Pennsylvania; and the Wartburg Press, Columbus, Ohio. The three year sales total of all editions sold by Augsburg Publishing House was 496,620 copies.

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normalize devotional life by prescribing certain exercises or materials to be used, there was a spiritual momentum in the congregations that encouraged individuals and families to comply with the general trend and become devotionally minded. The materials that came into use in such a climate were prayer books and anthologies of meditations. The religious zeal of individuals and families was heightened during the pre-Christmas and pre-Easter seasons, especially the latter. The Lenten season provided a steady, safe market for small devotionals. Altogether, the category of devotional materials by all publishing houses totaled during the fifty years 129 titles or 8.8 per cent of all books published. This was a high percentage considering that devotionals had large printings and they remained in print for extended periods. The sermon materials, making up 6.2 per cent of the total books, could have been well used as devotional material, especially by the elderly and shut-ins.

The devotional books remained in steady demand all through the fifty years. In the last seven years, thirty-four titles were published, which is actually a more intensive publishing program than in the forty-three years preceeding. The fifty years of devotional publishing show some appreciation for the old and traditional. There were nine devotionals published in the vernacular or in translation and eighteen classics of devotional literature republished, among them books by Loehe (B 674, 674a, 674b), Bunyan (B 134a), Rosenius (B 1089, 1090, 1091), Pontoppidan (B 961), Starck (B 1254), Skovgaard-Peterson (B 1240a), Steinberger (B 1259b, 1259c), Luther (B 767a), and others.

A very unusual sales record was held by The Service Prayer Book by Ylvisaker (B 1370), which sold more than a million copies by 1958 as it was used by the Armed Forces of the United States.

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3. Sermon Anthologies and Evangelistic Publications

In Lutheran usage, the sermon is, ideally, the proclamation of the Gospel, delivered to the congregation to be convicted of sin, to assure of forgiveness, and to guide the forgiven sinner in his daily life. The evangelistic message differs only in that it attempts to convert the hearers with greater intensity and, therefore, may present the message with appeals to emotions, especially fear, in order to solicit immediate decision from the hearer.

Since sermon materials and evangelistic messages cannot always be distinguished from one another and since in ecclesiastic usage they overlapped, no attempt was made to separate them in this survey.

There are altogether ninety-two titles in the combined category, or 6.2 per cent of the total of books published.

A sub-category of materials within this number, and closely related to the sermon anthologies, are the outlines of sermons and evangelistic messages, which were published for the benefit of the clergyman in his preparation of sermons and evangelistic addresses. Altogether, eighteen of such outline sermon books were published.

One group of Sermon Anthologies merits special attention. In the Evangelical Lutheran Church, a need for representative preaching was met by producing a series of collections of sermons, co-authored by a number of clergymen (B 146, 269, 484, 1299, 1301, 1325, 1342, 1356), covering the three-year pericope cycle of the church year. Four titles with similar collective authorship were published in the _Twenty Sermon Series_ in the areas of confirmation, funerals, occasional, and stewardship preaching (B 1319, 1320, 1321, 1322).

Although the private devotional use of sermons was a possibility, it is likely that most of the sermon publications published were actually

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used by clergymen as a source for their sermon preparation.

Most of the sermon publications were written by clergymen of The American Lutheran Church and its antecedent bodies. They were all well-known preachers and leaders of the church, such as Ylvisaker (B 1366, 1367, 1369, 1371), Golladay (B 328, 329, 332, 335, 336, 337a, 338), Poovey (B 963, 964), Long (B 690, 693, 694), Oscar C. Hanson (B 405a, 407, 408), Schuette (B 1171, 1179), Rogness (B 1072a, 1073), and many other illustrious clergymen and theologians, among them some recognized scholars such as Reu (B 1048) and Lenski (B 632, 633, 634, 649). There were a few Norwegian titles (B 358, 1243) and some translations (B 454, 499, 560), but not as many as in the area of theology and Biblical studies, reported below.

4. Theological and Biblical Studies Monographs

Whatever the level, popular or scholarly, whatever the form of the publication, paper or hardcover, the Biblical and Theological Studies were by far the leading category of all adult groups of materials. This group totaled 307 books or 20.8 per cent of the total publications; that is roughly one-fifth of all publications. The theological principles stated in the policy of 1935 to establish parish education programs are very applicable to the adult study and teaching monographs. Indeed, the quality and number of Biblical and theological monographs indicate that the educational objectives were serious efforts continued beyond the curricular minimums for adolescents. In classifying this group of publications in order to obtain an inner profile, we see that classes represented are consonant with the theological premises outlined. Again, the largest number deal with the doctrines of the church. One hundred and one titles, or 6.8 per cent of the total, deal with Christology,

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ecclesiology, incarnation, prayer, conscience, faith, and many other central concerns of Lutheran theology. Biblical studies are also well represented, with eighty titles or 5.4 per cent of the grand total. Forty-three titles are exegetical or expository studies, twelve titles are introductory, seventeen titles are biographical studies from the Bible, and seven titles feature various Bible-related studies, such as musical instruments in the Bible (B 1340), the Bible in Shakespeare (B 4), or the Bible in religious education (B 1215). In the field of exegetical studies, the commentaries of Lenski (B 635, 636, 637, 638, 640, 641, 642, 644, 645, 645a, 646, 647, 649a, 650) and Leupold (B 655, 656, 657, 658, 659) are sizeable and significant contributions to the Biblical field in general.

The third largest concentration in books of theology is the area of ethics, considering the individual's life and faith, his development and problems in the world and in the church, and including also some books discussing the problems of social ethics. There are sixty-five titles or 4.4 per cent of the total in this category.

The doctrinal, Biblical, and ethical studies monographs in the combined publishing programs form a 16.6 per cent segment from the total book output, indeed, a very important core for the life of the church. These areas are most vital for any program that requires conviction and dedication. The American Lutheran Church has benefited greatly from these 246 books in terms of the spiritual growth of its membership.

There were other smaller concentrations of subject concerns within this category of Theological and Biblical Studies. One of these was a cluster of titles published for the benefit of the clergy, consisting of studies in homiletics, pastoral theology, communications, psychology of religion, psychotherapy, and similar concerns vital to parish ministry. There were twenty-three titles or 1.6 per cent of the total books published in this cluster.

The other area of minor concentration within the larger category was the twenty-five books, or 1.7 per cent, dealing with other churches or religion in general, usually with an apologetic stance defending Lutheranism against the "errors" of other churches. In the period before World War II, most books in this area were intolerant and parochial, but after the war these books showed tendencies to more objective appraisal of the differences. From the earlier period, the attacks were directed against scientism, secularism, and modernism (B 108, 132, 468, 1132, 1133, 1139); pentecostalism (B 1264, 1265); secret societies (B 937); freemasonry (B 1334); and Russelism (B 1106), or they were directed against a number of "religious delusions" (B 108, 871a, 893). The more tolerant later books were published in favor of unity and ecumenicity, treating the subjects of study more objectively (B 348, 360, 605, 666, 986, 1029).

The smallest concentration of special monographs in the category of Theological and Biblical Studies is a small group of nine books, or 0.6 per cent of the total, about Soeren Kierkegaard (B 291, 534, 535, 539, 540, 541, 790, 1284, 1364). This very valuable contribution to the field of philosophy was started through the efforts of Professor David Swenson of the University of Minnesota.

In closing, a group of four Bible texts (B 78a, 78b, 78c, 79), or 0.3 per cent, show how little was done or needed to be done in furnishing the Biblical texts to the constituents. The Lutheran publishing houses received inexpensive Bible editions for sale in their bookstores from American, Norwegian, German, and Danish Bible societies, as well as from commercial publishers. The Revised Standard Version of the Bible, published under the imprint of Augsburg Publishing House (B 78a), was actually a Thomas Nelson edition, published with a prefatory section and with the imprint as an Augsburg Bible for parochial distribution.

5. Historical and Biographical Monographs

It was stated already in the confessional and theological profile of Lutheranism that the church had a retrospective orientation and constantly emphasized its historical creeds as symbols of identity. In addition to looking back on its creeds, the Lutheran church was fond of reliving its past in historical narratives of its founders, its struggles, and its achievements. It is no surprise, then, that for this purpose 143 books were published, or 9.7 per cent of the book total, and that 1.4 per cent, or twenty-one titles, were of a similar nature, i.e., travelogues and geographical description of their homeland (also Biblical lands).

Of the 164 titles in the Historical and Biographical Monographs section, when sub-divided, thirty-seven were books on Lutheran luminaries of the past, twenty-six titles dealt with the life and work of Martin Luther, and eighty titles were of Lutherana--histories of a Lutheran synod or synods, of the Lutheran church as a whole, or a part of it, or of the Reformation period and its documents.

In the books of geographical description, Norwegian travelogues were predominant. Three books covered the Holy Land, one Germany, one England, but sixteen titles of the twenty-one travelogues dealt with Norway or Northern Europe.

In being concerned about themselves, Lutherans have benefited non-Lutherans, for their histories, their biographies, and their various self-studies have served as ample, although not always accessible, source material. This can be especially said about the encyclopedic and comprehensive publications which have originated in the American Lutheran Church and in its antecedent synods. On top of any list of such major contributions must be The Encyclopedia of the Lutheran Church (B 107), which is strong in historical, biographical (especially of composers, theologians, and ecclesiastical leaders), theological and liturgical coverage. Also, Lutheran liturgy, church art, polity, missions, and parish education receive satisfactory coverage in this encyclopedia. For older material, the seven volumes of the Lutheran World Almanac and Annual Encyclopedia (B 902) should be searched, as they contain a wealth of material, although through awkward arrangement it is not easily retrievable. The fifty years produced, also, comprehensive phaenomenologies of Lutheranism (B 623, 777, 778), a Lutheran atlas (B 11), some excellent denominational histories (B 148 , 497, 867, 977) and excellent studies of the American Lutheran Church (B 133, 816, 1247a).

6. Practical and Promotional Publications (including Foreign Missions and Various Publications)

In addition to publishing books such as works of theology or Biblical studies and denominational history, most Lutheran publishers attempted to give practical assistance to congregations and to individual laymen in carrying out their tasks in the church. We saw that, among the theological titles already mentioned, sixty-five books interpreted the Christian's role in the world and society. Now in the Practical and Promotional Publication group there are seventy-four titles more assisting the Lutheran Christian to perform his daily obligations as a church member. The seventy-four titles, of course, included also some promotional

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books. Examples of such material are books promoting and soliciting for church-related colleges, home missions, charity, the pension plan of the church, and many other causes. Foreign mission publications, which are grouped separately, are almost as numerous as the total of the Promotional and Practical Publications combined. There are seventy-two titles, or 4.9 per cent, of foreign missions' publications, over 5.0 per cent of the total in the other category (seventy-four titles). If both categories were combined in one to include all promotional and practical publications, the total is 146 books, or 9.9 per cent, of the published book total.

The largest segment of the non-foreign mission service titles is concerned with the responsibilities of members in social areas, such as ministering to the alcoholics (B 531), the soldiers (B 113, 1259), the workers (B 667), the elderly (B 1065), the unbelievers (B 1152), and the congregational peers (B 74), altogether seventeen titles. Thirteen other books in this general area are handbooks for church functions, such as choirs (B 763, 764, 1102b), committees (B 104, 106, 417), church libraries and reading (B 502, 511a, 1103), drama and programs (B 395, 533). Eleven titles in another group contain service handbooks for various occasions, such as handbooks for ministers (B 369), for pension plan holders (B 913b, 913c), for confirmands, for the newly married, and for new communicants (B 67, 415c, 228, 1277). There are, in this group, texts of union documents and explanations of church symbols (B 128, 1285) and one title offering advice on how to counteract religious intermarriage (B 66).

Eight titles gave business information concerning congregational finance, advertising, bookkeeping, and accounting (B 150, 462, 463, 518, 1203) as well as how to plan, to build, and to finance a new church (B 15, 17, 303).

Significant in terms of service are the ministerial and personnel directories, which the Norwegian Lutheran Church and later the Evangelical Lutheran Church continued to publish (B 85, 796, 903, 906).

There are six self promotional publications also in this general category, featuring the denomination in all aspects of its endeavors (B 61a, 231, 415b, 445, 913d).

It should be mentioned that each publisher printed and distributed sales catalogs, which, at the outset, were mere listings of books available in the bookstores of the churches (B 773), but which later developed into elaborate, illustrated catalogs featuring a generous display of merchandise related to the needs of the congregational programs and Lutheran homes. Due to the serial nature of these catalogs, no attempts were made to include them in the Checklist, nor to survey them in this study.

The seventy-two foreign mission titles promoted and informed the constituents of the church in various ways. The level of presentation varied from children's stories to adult discussion of the purposes of mission work. These works covered all countries that were served by the American Lutheran Church and its antecedent synods. There were sixteen biographical studies featuring some missionary pioneers, martyrs, or outstanding contemporary personalities in the field. One contribution deserves special mention. Augsburg Publishing House published, in 1944, the English-Chinese Romanized Dictionary (B 865a), a valuable reference tool.

Finally, along with the Practical and Promotional are the Various Publications, totaling thirteen titles. These books, as a group, are all far removed from the aims of the church and may propagate a conservative political concern (B 58a, 131, 292, 1253) or fill a need for a grammar (B 237, 578). One such title introduced a proposal for a metrical system (B 1238), some others were indexes (B 1335, 1336), and a book catalog (B 898b).

7. Literature for Children and Young People

Books for children and the young people of the church have a legitimate place in any church-related publishing program. The Lutheran churches have maximized this concern due to a particular theological stance inherited through their tradition. The same keen sense of responsibility for the religious growth and theological knowledge of the younger generation which gave rise to the parochial schools and curriculum materials was the force that gave impetus to the 359 books for youths and children, published during the fifty years of this survey. From the total of 1475 books, the juvenile literature amounted to 24.3 per cent, making this the largest group of books. The contributions of the Lutheran Book Concern and Wartburg Press were the major source in producing this impressive total. The Book Concern published 228 titles or 63.5 per cent of all children's literature. The Wartburg Press published seventy titles or 19.5 per cent. Augsburg Publishing House, the largest of the publishing enterprises, ranked third with fifty-five titles, or 15.3 per cent, and the two others (the Danish Lutheran Publishing House and the Wartburg Publishing House) together had only six titles, or 1.7 per cent of this category.

As stated before, curriculum publications were not included in this category. The majority of the children's book category was fiction. The bulk of this material was bought for gift purposes, especially during the Christmas season. This interesting trend of producing children's literature was influenced, no doubt, by market opportunities and consumer demand and gave the Lutheran Book Concern an appreciable and steady profit. The Wartburg Press was unable to continue this market established by the Lutheran Book Concern. Due to higher self-imposed quality standards and, therefore, higher production costs, they were unable to market their publications with profit for the same prices, and, when they raised prices, they lost the market.

The surge in children's books, then, was a phenomenon of the 1920's and was confined to one publisher, the Lutheran Book Concern. It was a trend conditioned less by religious considerations than by business opportunities. The benefit derived from the children's book market, no doubt, subsidized the religious book program as it improved the fiscal conditions and, consequently, the physical plant of the book concern.

The trend subsided in the 1940's under the management of Daniel Schonting and became a rather light program in the 1950's under Elmer Dornbirer's management, resembling the production of Augsburg Publishing House, where children's book publishing had been a secondary endeavor all through the fifty years since 1917. Augsburg Publishing House and Wartburg Press seemed to recognize their primary obligation in regard to the younger generation as curriculum publishers.

8. Fiction, Belletristic and Poetry Publications

In the lists of the major publishing houses studied, there were, now and then, books that did not directly serve the church nor promote the spiritual growth and the theological knowledge of the individual. Some of these adiaphora publications were purely secular, such as some novels (B 762, 1082, 1084), short stories (B 9, 202, 512, 513, 514, 1081) and volumes of poetry (B 286, 1066, 1080, 1273). A number of literary classics were also in this non-religious group (B 89, 89a, 483e, 483d, 660).

More numerous, however, were literary publications with some didactic or moral intent. Such were thirty-two shorter or longer novels of various authors and the nineteen historical novels of William Schmidt (B 1112-1126).

There were altogether ten short story collections, twenty-two volumes of poetry, twelve essay collections, six reminiscences, four bellettres, and the remaining seventy-one novels. This literary fringe of the publishing program totalled altogether 125 titles, or 8.5 per cent, of the total books published.

The incidence of books in the vernacular was much greater among this group than any other subject area. There were altogether fifty-two titles in the vernacular languages, twenty-one titles in Norwegian and thirty-one titles in German. Seventy-two books in this category were published by Augsburg Publishing House; thirty-five titles were published by Lutheran Book Concern, seven by Wartburg Press, four by the Lutheran Free Church Publishing House, three by Wartburg Publishing House, and three by the Danish Lutheran Publishing House.

The fiction, belletristic, and poetry publications may not have been necessary in terms of the objectives of the church, yet these literary publications permitted the church to appeal to an important human dimension, that of creativity. Compared to the best in literature, the 125 Lutheran titles in this area may appear scant, which they were. Yet, their presence in the publishing lists was a recognition that the creative and esthetic implications of life were important secondary considerations once the ethical and religious matters were duly considered.

9. Foreign Language Publications

The historical sketches of the Lutheran synods at the outset of this study described them as foreign church bodies, not only originating in Europe but persisting in an ethnic and religious tradition. Even as late as through the 1920's, each Lutheran synod surveyed still strongly adhered to its own ethnic culture and mores and transacted its official business and worshipped in the vernacular. While the language officially was German, Norwegian, or Danish, the membership of each synod was subject to the processes of assimilation and acculturation and gradually became American. The transition process for the immigrant was called by Theodore Blegen "a living in a linguistic halfway house" with both languages at one's disposal, neither giving up his old language, nor fully mastering the new.[14]

This "linguistic halfway house" condition was evidenced, also, in synodical life. The work with the young was done in English. Each synod had an English language periodical for adults and at least one for the young. The strangest mixture of the official vernacular with English was in the official minutes of the conference. Here, the treasurers', the auditors', the board of publications', and a few others' reports were usually in English, although the bulk of the transactions were in the vernacular. In a later stage, the official conference minutes were published in both languages. In a still later stage, the minutes were in English with a few reports in the vernacular until finally the whole report was in English.

The German, Norwegian, and Danish periodicals, likewise, gave way as official organs of the denominations to the English language

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[14] Theodore C. Blegen, Grass Roots History (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1947), p. 113.

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periodicals. The foreign language periodicals continued to be published in a different role for the benefit of the older members of the churches. During the years 1917-1920, the English language books amounted to about half of the publications. Thus, from the sixty-six listings of the Augsburg Publishing House, thirty-six are in Norwegian and thirty titles are in English. Among the Wartburg Publishing House's total listing in 1930, including reprints and smaller publications, seventy-six titles are in German, but fifty-five titles are in English. An imbalance between the English and Norwegian publications is seen in the Lutheran Free Church catalog of 1924.[15] Listing the bookstore sales, the catalog favors Norwegian publications two to one in every category of books except in music, where Norwegian song and choral music has sixteen entries and music in the English language only two.

The Augsburg Publishing House retained an emphasis on Norwegian literature all through the 1920's. With a new church service policy and a strong management to enforce it, this trend toward Norwegian literature disappeared and with it also other publications in Norwegian. In the 1930's, books in the vernacular were very few and in the 1940's they virtually disappeared. As the German, Norwegian, and Danish titles disappeared from the publishers' lists, English translations of continental authors made their appearance. Foremost among the translators was O. Hallesby with his bestselling theological and devotional titles. To a great degree, Hallesby appealed to the conservative and orthodox Norwegian-Lutheran clientele of Augsburg Publishing House, but the interest in

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[15] Wartburg Publishing House. Abridged Catalog of Our Own Publications (Chicago: Wartburg Publishing House, [1930]), 20pp.

The Lutheran Free Church Publishing Company. Bibles and Testaments (Minneapolis: The Lutheran Free Church Publishing Company, 1924), 11pp.

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Norwegian authors in translation could conceivably have been, also, an expression of or a search for ethnic identity of the readers.

10. Omissions and Neglected Areas

Even a casual examination of the 1475 titles in the Checklist--the total output of the fifty years from 1917 to 1967--reveals on one hand a uniformity of theological orientation and, on the other, an absence of books with a concern for social ethics. A more thorough examination of the publishing lists of the six publishing establishments substantiates this notion. Indeed, there was a total absence of books dealing with the social and political phenomena of the period, and there were no exploratory or innovative theological studies which would challenge the historical doctrinal position.

The fifty years, from 1917 to 1967, were filled with many portentous events in economic, political, and international affairs, most of them challenging the political establishment and the conventional values which could rightly elicit statements from the Lutheran churches if these would assume the role of impartial arbiter or attempt to direct society according to their concepts of right and wrong. The Lutheran churches and their publishing houses remained silent on practically all issues. There were no monographic publications attempting deeper study of the problem areas, and there were hardly any periodical articles or editorials dealing with the issues raised by these events.

Among these decisive events that would check the sensitivity and the responses of the Lutheran synods, the first that must be mentioned is the Great Depression which lasted for a decade, with an accompanying massive unemployment and general economic distress. The fifty-year period spanned also two World Wars and two major military conflicts, one in

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Korea, the other in Vietnam.

In spite of the magnitude of these events, not one of the publishing establishments addressed itself to these concerns with books on the ethical issues of war and pacifism, arms control, work and unemployment, poverty and wealth.

There were other domestic events, such as Prohibition, Social Security legislation, and the Scopes trial, which affected the country. Such major world events as the establishment of the State of Israel, the Russian Revolution, and the National Socialism of Hitler were bypassed in silence by the Lutheran synods, except for a few indirect contributions at some points.

These indirect contributions were usually conservative. In the Prohibition controversy, the books published sided with the temperance movement; such were Church, State and Drink Traffic (B 195) and the novel When Jesus Enters the Home (B 550). In the evolution controversy, they sided with the fundamentalists through authors such as Schoeler (B 1134, 1139) and Nelson (B 860, 862, 863).

In interpreting National Socialism, one book covered the atrocities committed by the German occupational forces in Norway (B 262). No publication came closer to the Russian Revolution than to retell autobiographical stories of refugees about life behind the Iron Curtain (B 484a, 780).

Although all of the Lutheran synods in the three first decades were rural in character and must have realized the distinctive problems of church life and membership in rural areas, no study or monograph was ever published during this time on the rural church and the life and problems of the farmer. Only one book on the church in town and country appeared in the 1960's by Augsburg Publishing House (B 845).

Conspicuously absent were other concerns in social ethics, such as civil freedom and equality before the law, capital punishment and the penal system, conscription and the military service, prayers in schools and the public school curriculum, birth control and abortion, movies, pornography and the problems of censorship, the ethics of public office and political involvement of the citizenry, and other similar topics on which churches with serious ethical concerns might have published books.

It should be noted that, in the last ten years of the survey, some books in social ethics were published. In race relations a slender pamphlet by Krebs entitled The Lutheran Church and the Negro in America (B 568) was published in 1950 by the Wartburg Press. Augsburg Publishing House discussed the church and state relationship in four books (B 616, 811, 987, 1155). Likewise, the problems of marriage and divorce were touched upon in several publications (B 126, 182, 626, 757a, 819a, 820). In fairness to the Lutheran publishers, the synods or churches represented by them, and the authors of these five decades, it should be understood that the Lutheran concept of religious communication and propagation of their faith is basically the proclamation of the Gospel for the purpose of eliciting a personal commitment or response from the individual. For this reason, Lutheran theology has been almost exclusively preoccupied with individual ethics, convicting the sinner of his shortcomings, offering him the comforts of forgiveness, and prodding him to a new life in a loving commitment to his Savior. What this commitment is outside the congregational fellowship is left up to the individual. Some good and comprehensive handbooks originated in the realm of individual ethics (B 270, 1013, 1015).

Indeed, social programs sponsored by the church were suspect of being a social gospel abberration and not in harmony with the justification of faith doctrine as understood by Martin Luther. There were interpretations of the rift between church and society which, in analogy to the separation of church and state, excused the church from direct engagements and ethical responsibilities (B 21, 233, 393, 607).[16]

In the area of theology, the omissions were mainly seen in the lack of exploratory and innovative study. The Lutheran churches, with their orientation toward historical and confessional statements in doctrinal matters, spent great effort in the fifty-year period under study to defend their positions or to reinterpret the historical theological formulae for contemporary consumption. The writers whose works were published by the churches all stayed within the accepted theological framework and did not challenge it. Although there were no strictures upon the clergy and theological professors forbidding experimental writing, their initial ordination pledge of loyalty and their belonging to the ecclesiastical organization worked as measures of self-discipline or self-censure.

Only recently have clergymen voiced opinions for more liberal theological publications. William Gentz, an editor of Augsburg Publishing House, carried out in 1968 "Book Idea Conferences", gathering data for a Ten Year Book Program. The sixteen conferences, attended by nearly 200 ministers of all districts of the American Lutheran Church, registered many requests "for studies which face squarely the problems of Biblical criticism and are in the modern mood" and suggested that "there is a need for an up-dated systematic theology" and books in "Christian anthropology, studies on the sacraments . . . Law and Gospel today, the Holy Spirit, eschatology". Some characterized the existing book publishing programs as conservative, parochial, reactionary, cautious and with "little" boldness, although others found that the program was adequate and well-planned and served the church well.[17] In the section of suggestions for improvements, the participants of the conferences desired more inexpensive paperbacks dealing with stimulating and controversial subjects. They dared the house to "break out of the establishment . . . to seek new frontiers . . . and to emerge into the world of today."[18] There were no suggestions made for the Augsburg Publishing House to remain as it had been and now was.

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[16] Lloyd Svendsbye, in his dissertation "The History of a Developing Social Responsibility among Lutherans in America from 1930 to 1960", found that leaders of the Norwegian Lutheran Church and the American Lutheran Church tended to speak of the Great Depression as an act of God to punish America for its sins and urged their constituents to thank God for the fact that none of them was in want.

C. Some Problems in Implementing the Aims and Objectives of the American Lutheran Church in Publishing

The American Lutheran Church, like its antecedent bodies, has as its stated purpose "to bear witness to the Christian faith in fullness and purity, and to preserve and extend the unity of that faith" so that "the Triune God may be more fully known among men through a faithful ministry of Word and Sacrament."[19]

More specifically, the purpose of The American Lutheran Church is spelled out as the "proclamation and propagation of the Christian Faith,

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[17] The report was mimeographed and bound in the Minutes of Board of Publication and Augsburg Publishing House, 1967, pp. 147ff.

[18] Ibid., pp. 147ff.

[19] Article 301 of the Constitution and Bylaws of the American Lutheran Church. See Handbook of The American Lutheran Church, 1969 (Minneapolis: Augsburg Publishing House, 1969), p. 34.

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and the quickening and sanctification of the members of its congregations through the use of the Means of Grace." For this purpose, the church was authorized to "print, publish, distribute, and sell Christian literature, music, art, and related materials; and establish, maintain, and operate publishing houses."[20]

To carry out these aims and objectives, the Bylaws of The American Lutheran Church provides for a Division of Publications and a Board of Publication with the following duties:

a. Publish an official church periodical.

b. Provide and distribute materials necessary to assist congregations, pastors, and others in their worship and work.

c. Make available such literature, art, and music as will enrich the life of the Church spiritually and culturally.

d. Publish material regarding the theology, life, work, history and organization of the Church.

e. Manage and operate its affairs in such a manner as to insure the continuation and extension of the publishing activities of the Church.

f. Transfer from current operations to the Church such part of its net earnings as the Board of Publications may from time to time determine, after setting up necessary reserves and appropriations.

g. Take such additional steps as are necessary to carry out the objective of the division.[21]

Although none of the other publishers had been assigned such detailed duties, they all had in common the principle of service to the church as their purpose of operation.[22] The statement of guidance in the general objectives provides a certain latitude and flexibility for the publishing concern only within a certain framework and delimits any publishing activity to that framework. The absence of authorization to go beyond the delimitations causes several interrelated problems:

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[20] Article 302 and 302.7. Ibid., p. 34.

[21] Ibid., pp. 85, 86.

[22] The United Evangelical Lutheran Church provided in Article 2, Section 1, "the purpose and object for which the publishing house is to print, publish and sell books, pamphlets, papers and periodicals of Christian, moral, and literary tenor. It shall also be a book and supply

1. The problem of balance and coverage.
2. The theological orientation and retrospective direction of the publishing program.
3. Popular versus scholarly publications and the economic factor.
4. Cooperation versus competition in church related publishing.

1. The Problem of Balance and Coverage

The 1475 publications, as a product of six church-related Lutheran publishing houses, show a profile which covers quite evenly and proportionately all aspects of the work and the dogma of the church. The publications reflect the basic preoccupations of the churches, exhibited in word and deed, except for two areas.

The total distribution can be considered, therefore, a balanced one, except for the Children's Books and the Fiction category. This overemphasis resulted from unusual concepts of publishing by the Lutheran

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store for the United Evangelical Lutheran Church." The Lutheran Publishing House, Constitution and Bylaws (Blair, Nebraska: Lutheran Publishing House, 1955), p. 3.

The American Lutheran Church (1930-1960), in its Rules and Regulation for the Board of Publication, stated that "the object of the Board shall be to serve the Lord Jesus Christ and this Church through the printed Word." American Lutheran Church, Constitution and Bylaws (Columbus: The Wartburg Press, 1955), p. 158.

And the Wartburg Publishing House, as an incorporated body, had as its object "to print, publish, bind, circulate, discriminate and sell books, periodicals, pamphlets, magazines, newspapers, tracts and supplies for churches, schools and Sunday Schools, to buy and sell any and all merchandize and products required by or of interest to the Evangelical Lutheran Synod of Iowa and other States." Bylaws of Wartburg Publishing House (mimeographed), 10 unnumbered pages. Archives Collection of Augsburg Publishing House.

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Book Concern under the managements of A. L. Dornbirer and Daniel Schonting and the Augsburg Publishing House under the management of A. Sundheim.

The section on "Omissions and Neglected Areas" above, however, pointed out the conspicuous absence of publications in social ethics and in modern theology, due to idiosyncrasies of the Lutheran theological tradition. These rather large subject gaps, therefore, cannot be considered as unbalanced or neglected areas. The absence of these subject categories was to be expected within the framework of Lutheran doctrine; their presence would have been out of character with this framework. Nevertheless, the question about areas of insufficient coverage can be legitimately asked within each of the general categories. Could it be assumed that, within each main category, the component subject areas had balanced coverage without gaps unless these were due to theological accents and particularities? An examination of the Theological and Biblical Study category, for example, shows that the coverage is uneven. Thus, for example, theology and individual ethics books are sufficiently represented, but books in eschatology and natural theology are not. In the Biblical studies, exegetical and hermeneutical publications predominate, especially in the New Testament, but Biblical archaeology and criticism and canonics have few or no publications. The pattern of the publications within each category by each of the publishers shows little or no attempt to provide a proportionate or a coordinated coverage. It is also obvious that, in view of the latitude of the aims of publishing stated by the churches, and the flexibility of interpretation permitted in their execution, the imbalance of the publications was not an issue. In fact, a balance was never attempted, as it is common by most publishers in general. It should be noted, too, that, because each publishing house had a bookstore outlet in which publications of other church-related publishers were distributed, any needs for books covering other areas were easily met by proper book selection in wholesale buying for the store.

There is another sense of balance which more justifiably could be considered in evaluating each publisher and the total of his production, namely, the balance of service each department of the church received in proportion to its needs. A church-related publisher could be expected to give assistance in publishing materials for any on-going and active program of the church. In checking the publications in view of their serviceability to the various departments and programs of the church, it appears that the coverage was uneven. The program that received consistently most attention by all publishers, even the smallest, was foreign or world missions, next to parochial education which topped all endeavors. The home missions departments received little in the way of book publications, perhaps because these departments were less insistent in asking for such support. It must be noted that the home missions programs frequently received non-book services like tracts and pamphlets, which were widely used for evangelizing or solicitation purposes. An indirect service potential for home missions programs was latent in all publications dealing with study and learning, practical and promotional aids, devotionals and other materials published for established congregations. Hence, home mission needs were not as much neglected as it appears on the surface. Furthermore, the larger publishing concerns, like Augsburg Publishing House and Wartburg Press, had specific promotional titles on behalf of home missions work.

The publishers surveyed did not give their services to the departments of charities nor to particular institutions of charity. Most books on behalf of a specific institution were published by the institutions themselves. The reason for this curtailment of services was, conceivably, editorial and financial prudence. The histories, annual reports, and promotional materials for each of the many charitable enterprises had only regional or sentimental appeal and significance and, therefore, could not have general distribution and sales. Likewise, publishing was usually not done for the colleges and seminaries of the Lutheran denominations, although a few histories of educational institutions were published by the Iowa and Ohio synods before the merger of 1930. The auxiliaries of the Lutheran church were served mainly by periodical or program publications, although occasionally monographs were published to promote the programs of youth, women's, or men's societies in the congregations. More recently, the ecumenical and inter-Lutheran causes have gained momentum in The American Lutheran Church, and Augsburg Publishing House has published a number of books on behalf of the World Council of Churches (B 835, 1364a, 1364b), the Lutheran World Federation (B 107, 114, 240, 666, 778, 779, 779a, 986, 1241a, 1328), and the National Lutheran Council (B 393, 845).

The array of publications produced by the six publishing houses during the years 1917 to 1967 definitely show a conscientious effort to serve the church. The gaps or imbalance noted at certain points are not serious enough to be construed as neglect. It is quite clear from the survey that the publishing programs examined have not emanated from systematic planning efforts. Although the aims and purposes as defined by the denominations were not violated, it is conceivable that a more systematic planning would have enabled the publishing houses to better meet the needs of their constituents. The Book Idea Conferences held in

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1968 were useful in evaluating the past publishing program of Augsburg Publishing House from the viewpoint of the clergy of the church. For a more realistic appraisal of the needs and interests on the grassroots level, a survey of the readership and congregational life and programs would be essential. Likewise essential would be an examination of present publishing programs and future plans of other Lutheran and Protestant publishers in order to capitalize on an expanded common consumer market and to avoid needless duplications of effort.

2. Theological Orientation and the Retrospective Direction of the Publishing Program

Lutheran churches usually expect a confessional agreement from the clergyman before ordination and the same from all church members before accepting them into membership. It is customary, likewise, to receive pledges from lay leaders and Sunday School teachers, promising that they will not teach anything contrary to Lutheran creeds and the teachings of the Bible. This practice of doctrinal confession was general in The American Lutheran Church and in its antecedent bodies. Coupled with this rather rigid regulation was a more permissive practice of not scrutinizing the members' beliefs once they had joined and as long as they stayed in tacit agreement with the historical creeds. The pledges or the confirmation of the members' faith took place at an early age in the rite of confirmation, permitting an open-ended development to each individual. Although the preaching and teaching in most congregations was in harmony with the official doctrinal position, the nurture and growth of each individual's spiritual life was not uniform. It was quite common, therefore, that the membership of the congregations, although outwardly conforming to Lutheran historical creeds, deviated

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inwardly from the official doctrinal stand on many points. Although none of the synodical memberships was ever subjected to tests in order to ascertain the degree and range of their actual deviation from the official doctrinal positions, every synod assumed such possibility and made serious efforts to edify the membership in the essence of doctrinal Lutheranism through programs of adult education, book publications, and periodicals.

Lutherans had always relied on education and books to propagate their faith; thus, it was natural for the synods concerned about the strength of orthodoxy within their ranks to resort to propagandistic techniques. In the field of book publications, this resulted in books idealizing the Reformation, extolling the life and contributions of Martin Luther and repeating the tenets of Lutheran orthodoxy, and, in general, glamorizing the past of the immigrant groups. There were 244 books, or 16.5 per cent of the total of all publications, dedicated to such retrospect of faith and life. Some of these books were simple translations of conservative compendia of theology (B 165, 567, 1109), others were republications of Luther's writings (B 766, 767a, 772, 772a), but most were historical and doctrinal essays designed to bolster the appreciation of Lutheranism and to depict its position as undisputable truth.

The cutting edge of this group of books was weighted by the groups of theological studies and catechisms, both of which propounded Lutheran orthodoxy for indoctrination. Both of these groups of publications totalled 135 titles, or 9.1 per cent of the grand total. All in all, this shield of defense of the church was 278 titles strong (18.8 per cent of the total) which, in combination with twenty-five titles

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attacking the facilities of other churches, seemed to provide a good safeguard against the inroads of non-Lutheran beliefs and also a means of reclaiming those who had left the straight and narrow road of orthodoxy.

With this emphasis on the past and with the expressed purpose of safeguarding the doctrinal purity of its members, the Lutheran synods did not have room for more exploratory or open-ended religious books. Indeed, very few books were published because they were written well; most of the publications did not conceal the propagandistic intent and the purpose of service for which they were printed.

Only recently, Augsburg Publishing House has originated a number of monographs in religion (B 501, 1251, 1364) that are less parochial and more academic. The Tower Books (the paperback series directed to laymen) also show an objectivity and an intellectual candor not seen in earlier Lutheran publications.

A similar exodus from a narrow parochialism and conservatism has taken place in Biblical studies. The earlier Lutheran synods entrenched themselves in a conservative and fundamentalistic position to guard the believer from the inroads of modern Biblical scholarship and criticism. Among the eighty titles in the Biblical area, only a few recent titles by Augsburg Publishing House introduce the reader to Biblical criticism, to the problems of Biblical archaeology, and the history of the canon, from the latest findings of modern Biblical scholarship.

This group of eighty titles, or 5.4 per cent of all publications, was upheld by the 15 per cent of devotional and sermon materials which tended to interpret the Bible as the Word of God--sole source of ultimate truth revealed to men for their salvation. The total defense of Biblical fundamentalism was, thus, 301 titles strong, amounting to 20.4 per cent of the total.

The theological orientation of American Lutheran publishing during 1917 to 1967 was a conservative and retrospective orthodoxy which dominated the theological, historical, and curricula publications and a cautious fundamentalistic tendency which dominated the Biblical study publications and curricula. There are definite signs in the 1960's of a liberalizing tendency, at least giving other views besides Lutheran orthodoxy and a Biblical fundamentalism a chance for objective coverage and so challenging the Lutheran church and its creeds.

Publishing, as a vehicle of ideas and as a form of education, would fall short of its potential effectiveness if it were confined to the sole purpose of perpetuating a tradition. It is true that one of the priestly tasks of the church, and of the church-related publishers as its spokesman, is to transmit and guard the tradition, but equally important is the prophetic role of criticizing that tradition and leading into the new and yet unknown. The church-related publishers' half century effort studied was strong in the priestly role, but weak in the prophetic. There are signs, however, in the more recent book output that indicate a change in the policies of Augsburg Publishing House, a recognition of the need to challenge the tradition, not in order to destroy it, but in order to improve and refine it. Gentz, in his report to the Board of Publication in 1968, said it thus:

> During the present period we have published or plan to publish several books which break new theological ground, at least for APH and its antecedent publishers. We have come out of our shell and begun to publish books which are somewhat controversial since they are modern in their approach, yet which are based on sound and responsible modern scholarship.[23]

Likewise, the more recent books show a new and keen sense of objective realism, seeing the world and its problems as they are, but also recognizing the responsibility of the church for their remedy.

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[23] Augsburg Publishing House, Reports . . . 1968, pp. 145-46, Archives Collection, Augsburg Publishing House.

3. Popular Versus Scholarly Publications and the Economic Factor

Each synodical publishing concern studied, while its tasks were spelled out in terms of lofty service and "proclamation", was expected to be at least self-sufficient and, if possible, a profitable business which would turn over to the synod a part of its earnings. The expectations of fiscal success were always present, although they may not have been stated as well as in the constitution of The American Lutheran Church, which charged the Board of Publications to

> (1) manage and operate its affairs in such manner as to insure the continuation and extension of the publishing activities of the Church and to
>
> (2) transfer from current operations to the Church such part of its net earnings as the Board of Publications may from time to time determine, after setting up necessary reserves and appropriations.[24]

The churches expected the publishing concerns, also, to publish the official church periodicals. And the magazines--those for youth, children, men and women alike--proved to be considerable financial liabilities.

In addition to the demand for service and profit, the publishers were frequently forced to publish books which were considered as important, scholarly, or edifying by some idealist, either on the Board of Publication or in the administration, without considering how marketable such titles might be. These requests for scholarly or important publications were almost always money losing propositions and needed to be offset by the more popular and profitable publications. It required a good business sense and knowledge of the consumer market to publish enough popular books and to promote and sell them so as to make the total enterprise solvent.

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[24] Handbook of the American Lutheran Church, Constitution of the American Lutheran Church. Article XIII. Section 6 (2) e, f. Looseleaf edition. [Minneapolis: Augsburg Publishing House, 1960], p. 46.

For this reason, church-related publishing differed little from secular publishing in business methods and management. The difference was, basically, the service aim and the contributions which the publisher gave to the church, as requested.

Some of the publishers studied succeeded well in their business management and, therefore, could help the church considerably, as in the case of the Lutheran Book Concern from 1917 to 1930, the Wartburg Press from 1950 to 1960, and Augsburg Publishing House from 1917 to 1967. In cases where the business management was poor, or subordinated to some other goals, the publisher became a liability to the church and incurred heavy financial losses, as in the case of Wartburg Press from 1940 to 1949 and the Messenger Press and its antecedent publishing concerns from 1917 to 1963.

The dictates of the market and the saleability of titles may not seem to be worthy aspects of church-related publishing, yet the law of supply and demand generally ruled in the literature committee, at the general manager's desk, and among the members of the boards of publication when new publications were considered.

When the economic factor was suspended out of idealism or motives of service, losses were guaranteed. It is disheartening to see the list of books from 1960 to 1967 entitled Augsburg Books with the Poorest Sales Record containing eighteen titles with sales under a thousand copies. Among these were Church in Fellowship by Vajta (B 1328), The Church in a Diverse Society by Halvorson (B 393), and The Challenge and Response by

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Quanbeck (B 986), titles praised earlier in this writing for their ecumenical and progressive outlooks.

At times, the book calculated to be popular did not sell either, as in the case of Morality and the Muses by Hygen (B 483) or the novel Beast of Babylon by Joscelyn (B 521) in the same list.[25]

In the case of a larger business enterprise, the publishing of books became a marginal matter. For instance, in the Augsburg Publishing House during 1967, books amounted to only 4.4 per cent of the sales dollar, hence the loss or profit became less of a factor with which to be concerned. The house could well afford to lose on books and periodicals as the profit earning segment of the business enterprise had shifted to the Sunday bulletins, the curriculum subscriptions, and the bookstore merchandise manufactured by others.

4. Cooperation Versus Competition in Church-Related Publishing

As described above, the business management of a church-related publisher, if successful, is similar to that of any publisher. To a degree, the businesslike operation was determined by the synods and churches who expected the publishing to be a profitable activity. The publishing in each synod was further secularized by the free market as the factors of competition, pricing, distribution, advertising, and many other forces exerted their influence upon the concerns. Although the publishing house of each church theoretically served its constituency and attempted to meet its particular needs, actually the individual of a congregation or entire congregations were in no way a captive market. In the managers' reports, frequently, the clergymen were requested to encourage their congregations to patronize their own publishing house and bookstore. The repetition of these requests indicates the extent and seriousness of the problem.

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[25] Augsburg Publishing House Reports . . . 1968, p. 147, Exhibit B.

The seeking to sell materials for Sunday School teaching or for preaching developed an advertising and service catalog competition, especially among the Lutheran publishers. Since more than half of the business was done by mail through catalogs, the consumer market had no geographical boundaries. In addition, such factors as speed of delivery, billing, and the description of items in the catalog intensified the struggle for the consumer. The bookstores of the publishing concerns listed strange lines of merchandise, related only remotely to church activities, swelling the printed catalogs to impressive sizes. Special catalogs were printed for the Christmas, Easter, and Summer season markets.

There was some cooperation on the top level among the competing managers and editors. They had even established an umbrella organization, the National Lutheran Editors' and Managers' Association. The managers of the Lutheran publishing houses cooperated in exchanging job printing assignments, exchanged manuscripts for publication, and consulted each other about artists and authors. They met annually in conferences, had guest lecturers, held banquets, elected officers, and rotated offices among themselves. Yet, in spite of all, they remained essentially in competition with each other in terms of the quality and design of their materials. Cooperative publications were few. Only when the venture was too large for each one of the publishers to handle, they cooperated, as in the case of the Service Book and Hymnal (B 1205). The competition for the reader-buyer, as in any consumer market, contributed greatly to improving the quality of publications and controlling prices and, therefore, was a positive factor.

The situation of competition also promoted creativity and innovation, especially in the publishing of curriculum materials. It rallied around each concern a staff of able editors, writers, and artists. The competition, dynamic on one occasion, brought an exceptional dividend when, in the merger of 1960, the strong editorial staff of the curriculum programs of Wartburg Press was integrated with the large and strong publishing plant and production staff and the nationwide sales outlets of Augsburg Publishing House.

Cooperation is frequently suggested among church-related publishers as a way to avoid duplicated effort. It is true that in reprinting catechisms or Bible histories some effort may have been wasted, but granted the variety of theological nuances, even among like-minded theologians, the differences of artistic tastes, and the many ways of approaching life and its problems, the duplication of a book, even on the same topic, is hardly a problem.

The encounters of Lutheran publishers as competitors in the Lutheran reader-buyer market provided a positive dynamic force which moved all of the contestants to improve their publications and services, and so benefited the reader, the congregations, and, thus also, The American Lutheran Church.

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All items in this bibliography have contributed to some extent as sources in the study and most of them are referred to and cited in the text and footnotes. A small number of publications and dissertations, also included in this list, have helped the writer with significant background information, but these do not appear in the text in any specific instance or quotation.

The bulk of sources, i.e., the publications referred to as objects of this study, are compiled in the Checklist of Monographs following this bibliography. The B numbers in the text (viz. B 167) refer to this Checklist directly. The footnote references with B numbers, as a rule, do not appear in this bibliography, but likewise refer to the Checklist.

Some entries in this bibliography have corporate authors and, as such, provide full information as to the institution, group, and subgroup responsible for the publication. As the text provides this information in context, the footnote references are cited in short form by title only. For instances where the materials are located in the Archives Collection of Augsburg Publishing House, it is so stated.

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Lutheran Church Herald, 1931-1960. Norwegian Lutheran Church (ELC), Minneapolis, Minnesota.

Lutheran Church Quarterly, 1928-1949. Vol. 1-22. Gettysburg, Pennsylvania.

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Lutheran Quarterly, 1949-1967. Vols. 1-19. Gettysburg, Pennsylvania.

Lutheraneren, 1917-1956. Norwegian Lutheran Church, Minneapolis, Minnesota.

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Wachende Kirche, 1866-1929. Lutheran Synod of Buffalo, N. Tonawanda, New York.

CHECKLIST OF MONOGRAPHS
Published within the American Lutheran Church and its Antecedent Bodies from 1917-1967

Excluded are publications with less than fifty pages and ephemeral titles. Exceptions to this rule were made in some cases where important considerations justified.

Excluded from this list are also serial publications and periodicals. In some cases, like in publishers series, where the monograph was known and distributed outside the series as a monograph, the series exclusion was waved. For some instances, inclusions were made of works before 1917. This was done to show an author's total output or relationship between earlier and later titles.

The checklist serves also as a union list of holdings in ALC institutions with the following location symbols.

AC--Augsburg College Library, Minneapolis, Minnesota
AP--Augsburg Publishing House Library, Minneapolis, Minnesota
AuC--Augustana College Library, Sioux Fall, South Dakota
CLC--California Lutheran College, Thousand Oaks, California
CU--Capital University, Columbus, Ohio
DC--Depository Collection of Augsburg Publishing House in Columbus, Ohio
DaC--Dana College, Blair, Nebraska
LC--Luther College, Decorah, Iowa
LTS--Luther Theological Seminary, St. Paul, Minnesota
SOC--St. Olaf College, Northfield, Minnesota
WTS--Wartburg Theological Seminary, Dubuque, Iowa
WC--Wartburg College, Waverly, Iowa

1.	Aase, R. O. Kirkelige Leilighetstaler. Minneapolis: Publishing House, 1929. 102pp.	AC, AP, CLC, SOC, WTS
1a.	Aaseng, Rolf E. Anyone Can Teach (They Said). Minneapolis: Augsburg Publishing House, 1965. 112pp.	AC, AP, CU, LTS, WTS
2.	Aaseng, Rolf E. The Sacred Sixty-Six. Minneapolis: Augsburg Publishing House, 1967. 210pp.	AC, AP, CU
3.	Abel, Marie. Das Weidenhauschen. Chicago: Wartburg Publishing House, n.d. 64pp.	DC
4.	Ackermann, Carl. The Bible in Shakespeare. Columbus: Lutheran Book Concern, 1936. 124pp.	AC, DC, LC, DaC
5.	Ackermann, Carl. From the Cross. Columbus: Lutheran Book Concern, n.d. 105pp.	
6.	Adams, Julia Ackermann. Building God's Highways. Columbus: Lutheran Book Concern, 1936. 124pp.	AC, DC

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8.	Ager, Waldemar. *Christ before Pilate; An American Story.* Minneapolis: Augsburg Publishing House, 1924. 277pp.	AC, AP, LC, LTS, SOC
9.	Allanson, Blanche Winona. *Indian Moons.* Minneapolis: Augsburg Publishing House, 1927. 65pp.	AC, AP, LC, LTS, SOC
9a.	American Lutheran Church. *The Altar Service Book.* Columbus: Wartburg Press, 1947. 630pp.	AC
9b.	American Lutheran Church. *The Bible: Book of Faith.* Minneapolis: Augsburg Publishing House, 1964. 175pp.	AC, AP, LTS, WC, WTS
9c.	American Lutheran Church. *The Church's Social Ministry.* Columbus: ALC Board of Charities, 1947. 39pp.	AC, LTS
9d.	American Lutheran Church. *Liturgy and Agenda.* Columbus: Wartburg Press, 193?. 464pp.	
10.	American Lutheran Conference. *Studies in Lutheran Higher Education.* Minneapolis: Augsburg Publishing House, 1933. 79pp.	AC, AP, LTS, SOC, WC
10a.	*American Lutheran Hymnal.* Compiled and edited by an inter-synodical committee. Columbus: Lutheran Book Concern, 1930. Word ed. 944pp., music ed. 227, 585pp.	AC
10b.	Anderson, A. M. *Hans Herlighed.* Blair, Nebraska: Danish Lutheran Publishing House, 1925. 381pp. Earlier edition privately printed, 1923.	LTS, DaC
10c.	Anderson, Alfred B. *The Spirit of the Cross.* Minneapolis: Augsburg Publishing House, 1930. 189pp.	AC, AP, LC
11.	Anderson, Charles C. *Augsburg Historical Atlas of Christianity in the Middle Ages and Reformation.* Minneapolis: Augsburg Publishing House, 1967. 68pp.	AC, AP, AuC, CLC, CU, LC, LTS, WC, WTS, DaC
12.	Anderson, Charles S. (ed.) *Readings in Luther for Layman.* Minneapolis: Augsburg Publishing House, 1967. 312pp.	AC, AP, CLC, CU, LTS, SOC, WC, WTS
13.	Anderson, Charles S. *The Reformation . . . Then and Now.* Minneapolis: Augsburg Publishing House, 1966. 119pp.	AC, AP, CLC, CU, LTS, SOC, WC, WTS
14.	Anderson, Martin. *Adult Class Manual.* Minneapolis: Augsburg Publishing House, 1924. 80pp. Revised edition, 1938. 83pp.	AC, AP, LC, LTS, SOC, WC, WTS

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15.	Anderson, Martin. *A Guide to Church Building and Fund Raising*. Minneapolis: Augsburg Publishing House, 1959. 118pp.	AC, AP, CU, LC, LTS, SOC, WTS
16.	Anderson, Martin. *Multiple Ministries; Staffing the Local Church*. Minneapolis: Augsburg Publishing House, 1965. 104pp.	AC, AP, CU, LTS, SOC, WTS
17.	Anderson, Martin. *Planning and Financing the New Church*. Minneapolis: Augsburg Publishing House, 1944. 80pp.	AC, AP, AuC, CLC, LC, LTS, SOC, WC, WTS
18.	Anderson, Oscar A. *With Him All the Way*. Minneapolis: Augsburg Publishing House, 1948. 216pp.	AC, AP, AuC, LC, LTS, SOC
19.	Anderson, Palmer I. *Young China in the Valley of Decision*. Minneapolis: Augsburg Publishing House, 1953. 123pp.	AC, AP, LC, LTS, SOC, WTS
20.	Anderson, Robert L. *Crossroads of Lent*. Minneapolis: Augsburg Publishing House, 1966. 104pp.	AC, AP, CU, LTS, WTS
21.	Andreen, Paul Harold. *The Clash*. Minneapolis: Augsburg Publishing House, 1964. 165pp.	AC, AP, LC, LTS, SOC, WTS, DaC
22.	Arden, G. Everett. *Four Northern Lights*. Minneapolis: Augsburg Publishing House, 1964. 165pp.	AC, AP, AuC, CLC, LC, LTS, SOC, WC, DaC
23.	Arndahl Norsk-Dansk Lutherske Menighed. *Jubilaeums-Minde*. Minneapolis: Augsburg Publishing House, 1918. 256pp.	AC, AP, LC, SOC
23a.	Arntzen, Arnliot Mattias. *Apostle of Norway, Hans Nielsen Hauge*. Minneapolis: Lutheran Free Church Publishing Company, 1933. 298pp.	AC, LTS
24.	Arntzen, A. M. *Hymns from Landstad*. Minneapolis: The Free Church Book Concern, 1918. 144pp.	AC
25.	Aslagsson, Olaf. *Under Vestens Himmel*. Minneapolis: Augsburg Publishing House, 1918. 252pp.	AC, AP, LC, SOC
26.	Aslagsson, Olaf. *Under Western Skies*. Minneapolis: Augsburg Publishing House, 1923. 262pp.	AP, LC, SOC
27.	Asper, Wallace J. *How to Organize the Education Program of Your Church*. Minneapolis: Augsburg Publishing House, 1959. 67pp.	AC, AP, LC, CLC, LTS, WTS
27a.	*At the Foot of the Cross*. Minneapolis: Augsburg Publishing House, 1958. 210pp.	AC, AP, AuC, CU, LC, LTS, SOC, WTS

28. Athy, Marion Poppen. *At the Fireside.* Columbus: Wartburg Press, n.d. 64pp. DC

29. Athy, Marion Poppen. *A Child's New Testament Bible Stories.* Columbus: Lutheran Book Concern, 1942. 154pp. DC

30. Athy, Marion Poppen. *A Child's Old Testament Bible Stories.* Columbus: Lutheran Book Concern, 1942. 154pp. DC

31. Athy, Marion Poppen. *A Daughter of Old Augsburg.* Columbus: Lutheran Book Concern, n.d. 96pp. DC

32. Athy, Marion Poppen. *Friends of Jesus.* Columbus: Lutheran Book Concern, n.d. 23pp. DC

33. Athy, Marion Poppen. *Happy Days.* Columbus: Lutheran Book Concern, 1939. 64pp. DC

34. Athy, Marion Poppen. *Happy Moments with Juniors.* Columbus: Lutheran Book Concern, n.d. 64pp. DC

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37. Athy, Marion Poppen. *Heroes of the Old Testament.* Columbus: Lutheran Book Concern, 1940. 192pp. AC, AuC, DC, LTS, SOC

38. Athy, Marion Poppen. *My Story Book.* Columbus: Lutheran Book Concern, n.d. 64pp. DC

39. Athy, Marion Poppen. *Pictureland.* Columbus: Lutheran Book Concern, n.d. 64pp. DC

40. Athy, Marion Poppen. *Pleasant Pastime.* Columbus: Lutheran Book Concern, n.d. 61pp.

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43. Athy, Marion Poppen. *Story Time.* Columbus: Lutheran Book Concern, n.d. 64pp. AC, DC

46. Augsburg College and Seminary. *Freedom and Christian Education.* Minneapolis: Board of Trustees, 1945. 77pp. AC

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49.	Awes, Astrid Dahle. *For the Soul of a King.* Minneapolis: Augsburg Publishing House, 1936. 162pp.	AC, AP, LTS, SOC, WC
49a.	Awes, Astrid Dahle. *One of the Least.* Minneapolis: Lutheran Board of Missions (LFC), 1923. 32pp.	AC
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56.	Baker, Elsa Gorham. *Three Sisters.* Columbus: The Lutheran Book Concern, n.d. 64pp.	DC
57.	Baker, Elsa Gorham. *Tony and Other Stories for Juniors.* Columbus: Wartburg Press, 1942. 94pp.	AC, DC
58.	Bangsberg, John. *Louise Enerby, Fortaelling fra Folkelivet.* Minneapolis: Augsburg Publishing House, 1929. 311pp.	AC
58a.	Barnes, Harry Elmer. *Blev Amerika narret ind i Krigen?* Translated into Norwegian by G. Smedal. Minneapolis: Augsburg Publishing House, 1927. 164pp.	AC
59.	Bartels, Robert A. *Kerygma or Gospel Tradition, Which Came First?* Minneapolis: Augsburg Publishing House, 1961. 126pp.	AC, AP, LTS, SOC, WC, WTS, DaC
60.	Barth, Christian G. *Cuff, the Negro Boy.* Columbus: Lutheran Book Concern, 1923. 104pp.	DC
61.	Bass, George M. *The Renewal of Liturgical Preaching.* Minneapolis: Augsburg Publishing House, 1967. 155pp.	AP, LTS, WTS

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63.	Baumann, Julius B. *Samlede Digte*. Minneapolis: Augsburg Publishing House, 1924. 250pp.	AC, AP, LC, LTS, SOC
64.	Baumgaertner, John H. *Meet the Twelve*. Minneapolis: Augsburg Publishing House, 1960. 122pp. Rev. ed. 1966. 144pp.	AC, AP, LC, LTS, WTS
65.	*Beams from Bethlehem*. Minneapolis: Lutheran Free Church Publishing Company, 1925. 129pp.	AC
66.	Becker, Carl. *Ways and Means of Counteracting the Dangers of Religious Intermarriage*. Columbus: Wartburg Press, 1947. 7pp.	DC
67.	Becker, Johannes. *Holy Communion; A Handbook for Lutheran Communicants*. Chicago: Wartburg Publishing House, 1929. 185pp. Another ed., 1956. 111pp.	AC, DC, LTS, WC, WTS
68.	Beiderbecke, H. *Erinnerungen eines Afrikanishen Missionars*. Chicago: Wartburg Publishing House, 1922. 64pp.	
69.	Beiderbecke, H. *Gospel Dawn in Africa*. Columbus: Lutheran Book Concern, 1932. 194pp.	DC, WC, WTS, DaC
70.	Belgum, David. *The Cross and the Creed*. Minneapolis: Augsburg Publishing House, 1966. 94pp.	AC, AP, CU, LTS, WTS
71.	Belgum, David. *His Death and Ours*. Minneapolis: Augsburg Publishing House, 1958. 65pp.	AC, AP, AuC
71a.	Belgum, David. *Why Did It Happen to Me?* Minneapolis: Augsburg Publishing House, 1960. 110pp.	AC, LTS
72.	Bell, J. H. (Mrs.) *The Dish Boat*. Columbus: The Wartburg Press, 1943. 94pp.	DC
73.	Bell, J. H. (Mrs.) *Joe and Jennie*. Columbus: Wartburg Press, 1947. 64pp.	AC, DC, DaC
74.	Berge, Selmer A. *Evangelism in the Congregation*. Minneapolis: Augsburg Publishing House, 1944. 78pp.	AP, LTS, SOC
75.	Bergen, J. Tallmadge. *Evidences of Christianity*. Minneapolis: Augsburg Publishing House, 1916. 135pp. Another copyright, 1924.	AC, AP, CLC, LC
76.	Bergendoff, Conrad. *The Making and Meaning of the Augsburg Confession*. Columbus: The [Lutheran] Book Concern, 1930. 128pp.	AC, CLC, DC, LC, LTS, SOC, WC, WTS

77.	Berggrav, Eivind Joseph. Land of Suspense; Visitation-Glimpses of North Norway. Translated by O. Herbert Ganestad. Minneapolis: Augsburg Publishing House, 1943. 144pp.	AC, AP, AuC CLC, LC, LTS, SOC, WC, WTS, DaC
78.	Besser, Wilhelm F. Passion Story. Minneapolis: Augsburg Publishing House, 1953. 336pp.	AP, LC, SOC, WTS
78a.	Bible. (English R.S.V.) The Holy Bible. Minneapolis: Augsburg Publishing House, 1961. 994, 64pp.	AP, LTS
78b.	Bible. (German). Die Bibel oder die ganze Heilige Schrift des Alten und Neuen Testaments. Chicago: Wartburg Publishing House, [1917] 806, 270pp.	AC, AP
78c.	Bible. (Norwegian). Bibelen eller den hellige Skrift. Minneapolis: Augsburg Publishing House, 1920. 1455, viiipp.	AC, AP
79.	Bible. O. T. (English A. V.). Psalms. Minneapolis: Augsburg Publishing House, 1940. 201pp.	AP, LC, SOC
81.	Biblical History for Intermediate and Higher Classes. Columbus: Lutheran Book Concern, 1923. Second ed. 1947.	AC
82.	Biblical History in the Words of Holy Scripture. Columbus: The [Lutheran] Book Concern, n.d. 368pp.	AuC, CU, SOC, WTS
83.	Biddle-Dell, Agnes M. (Mrs.) The Man at the Door. Columbus: Wartburg Press, 1943. 128pp.	DC
84.	Biddle-Dell, Agnes M. Over the Fence. Columbus: Lutheran Book Concern, 1946. 160pp.	AC, DC
85.	Biographical Directory of Pastors of the ELC. Minneapolis: Augsburg Publishing House, 1952. 664pp. Rev. ed. in 1962 (ALC) 857pp.	AP, AuC, DaC, LC, SOC, WC, WTS
86.	Birkeland, K. B. Paa Hvalfangst. Minneapolis: Augsburg Publishing House, 1924. 262pp.	AC, AP, LC, SOC
87.	Bjork, Elizabeth. Elsa's Lullaby. Columbus: Wartburg Press, 1946.	
88.	Bjork, Elizabeth C. Purple Pig for Pedro. Columbus: Wartburg Press, 1943. 80pp.	AC, DC
89.	Bjoernson, Bjoernstjerne. En Fallit. Minneapolis: Augsburg Publishing House, 1919. 196pp.	AP, AuC, LC, SOC
89a.	Bjoernson, Bjoernstjerne. Synnoeve Solbakken. Minneapolis: The Free Church Book Concern, 1918. 221pp.	AC, LC, LTS, SOC, DaC

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89c.	Bjoernson, M. Sangbok. Minneapolis: The Free Church Book Concern, n.d. 103pp.	AC
90.	Black, Marion. Child Life Stories. Columbus: Wartburg Press, 1944. 64pp.	DC
91.	Black, Marion. Childhood's Golden Dawn. Columbus: Wartburg Press, 1944. 91pp.	DC
92.	Black, Marion. The Child's Story Garden. Columbus: Wartburg Press, 1945. 92pp.	DC
93.	Black, Marion. Glad In The Lord. Columbus: Wartburg Press, n.d. 64pp.	DC
94.	Black, Marion. Helpful Stories. Columbus: The [Lutheran] Book Concern, n.d. 64pp.	DC
95.	Black, Marion. Life Paths. Columbus: The [Lutheran] Book Concern, n.d. 64pp.	DC
96.	Black, Marion. Precious Moments with Children. Columbus: Wartburg Press, 1942. 64pp.	DC
97.	Black, Marion. The Story Hour. Columbus: Wartburg Press, 1942. 64pp.	AC, DC
98.	Black, Marion. Sunbeams for Children. Columbus: The [Lutheran] Book Concern, n.d. 96pp.	DC
99.	Black, Marion. Sunny Side Stories for Children. Columbus: Wartburg Press, 1945. 64pp.	AC
100.	Black, Marion. Walk in His Ways. Columbus: Wartburg Press, 1940. 64pp.	AC, DC
100a.	Bock, Millie. In Gottes Schutz. Columbus: The [Lutheran] Book Concern, n.d. 64pp.	DC, SOC
101.	Bockelman, Eleanor. Bread For Her Day. Columbus: Wartburg Press, 1958. 70pp.	WTS
102.	Bockelman, Eleanor. A Practical Guide for Altar Guilds. Minneapolis: Augsburg Publishing House, 1962. 64pp.	AP, CU, LTS, WTS
103.	Bockelman, Eleanor. The Stewardess. Columbus: Wartburg Press, 1956. 71pp.	AP, CU, DC, LTS, WTS
104.	Bockelman, Wilfred. It Will Be Your Duty. Columbus: Wartburg Press, 1956. 74pp.	AC, AuC, CU, DC, LTS, WTS
105.	Bockelman, Wilfred. The Lutheran Church and Other Churches. Columbus: The Wartburg Press, 1953. 12pp.	DC

106.	Bockelman, Wilfred. *Toward Better Church Committees.* Minneapolis: Augsburg Publishing House, 1962. 90pp.	AP, LTS, WTS
107.	Bodensieck, Julius, ed. *The Encyclopedia of the Lutheran Church.* Minneapolis: Augsburg Publishing House, 1965. 2575pp.	AP, AuC, CLC, CU, DaC, LTS, SOC, WC, WTS
108.	Bodensieck, Julius. *Isms, New and Old.* Columbus: The [Lutheran] Book Concern, 1938? 111pp.	CLC, DC, LTS, SOC, WC, WTS
109.	Boe, V. E. *The Primary Hymn Book.* Minneapolis: Augsburg Publishing House, 1936. 72pp.	AC, AP
110.	Bonderud, Omar and Charles Lutz, eds. *America's Lutherans.* Columbus: Wartburg Press, 1955. 63pp.	AC, AuC, DC, LC, LTS, SOC, WC, DaC
111.	Booth, Edwin Prince. *Martin Luther, Oak of Saxony.* Minneapolis: Augsburg Publishing House, 1938. 280pp.	AC, AP, LTS, SOC, WC, WTS
112.	Brandt, Olaf Elias. *Friendship.* Minneapolis: Augsburg Publishing House, 1929. 51pp.	AP, CLC, LC, LTS, SOC
113.	Brasted, Alva J. *Service to Service Men.* Minneapolis: Augsburg Publishing House, 1941. 64pp.	AP, LTS
113a.	Bratager, Laura Ringdal. *Over Hav og Land.* Minneapolis: LFC Publishing Company, 1925. 128pp.	AC
114.	Brattgaard, Helge. *God's Stewards.* Minneapolis: Augsburg Publishing House, 1963. 250pp.	AP, CLC, LC, LTS, WTS
115.	Braulick, E. J. *Principles of Christian Faith.* Columbus: The Lutheran Book Concern, 1938. 264pp.	CLC, CU, LTS, SOC, WC, WTS, DaC
115a.	Braun, F. *Geschichte der Evangelisch-Lutherischen Synode von Iowa und anderen Staaten, 1854-1929.* Chicago: Wartburg Publishing House, 1929. 67pp. Binders title: *Zum diamantenen Jubilaeum der Evangelische-Lutherischen Synode.*	
116.	Braun, F. *Die Reformationszeit.* Chicago: Wartburg Publishing House, 1918. 112pp.	AC, DC, SOC
117.	Braun, F. *South of the Equator.* Columbus: The [Lutheran] Book Concern, 1937. 152pp.	DC
118.	Braun, F. and C. V. Sheatsley. *On Both Sides of the Equator.* Columbus: The [Lutheran] Book Concern, 1937. 284pp.	CU, DC, LTS, WC, WTS

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119.	Bridston, Keith R. and Dwight W. Culver, eds. *The Making of Ministers.* Minneapolis: Augsburg Publishing House, 1964. 296pp.	AP, AuC, CLC, CU, SOC, WC, WTS
120.	Bridston, Keith R. and Dwight W. Culver. *Pre-Seminary Education.* Minneapolis: Augsburg Publishing House, 1965. 257pp.	AC, AP, AuC, CLC, CU, LC, LTS, SOC, WC, WTS
121.	Brokering, Herbert F., ed. *Luther's Prayers.* Minneapolis: Augsburg Publishing House, 1967. 128pp.	AP, CLC, LTS, SOC, WC, WTS
122.	Brokering, Herbert F. *In Due Season.* Minneapolis: Augsburg Publishing House, 1966. 80pp.	AP, LTS, WTS
123.	Brokering, Herbert F. *In the Rustling Grass.* Minneapolis: Augsburg Publishing House, 1964. 64pp.	AP, CLC, LTS, WC, WTS
124.	Bruce, Gustav Marius. *An Elementary Introduction to the Bible.* Minneapolis: Augsburg Publishing House, 1925. 1st qtr. 1-80pp., 2nd qtr. 81-160pp., 3rd qtr. 161-240pp., 4th qtr. 241-320pp.	AP, LTS, SOC
125.	Bruce, Gustav Marius. *Luther as an Educator.* Minneapolis: Augsburg Publishing House, 1928. 318pp.	AC, AP, AuC, CLC, LC, LTS, SOC, WC, WTS, DaC
126.	Bruce, Gustav Marius. *Marriage and Divorce.* Minneapolis: Augsburg Publishing House, 1930. 200pp.	AC, AP, CLC, CU, LTS, SOC, WTS
127.	Bruce, Gustav Marius. *The Successful Life.* Minneapolis: Augsburg Publishing House, 1930. 100pp.	AC, AP, LC, SOC, DaC
127a.	Bruce, Gustav Marius. *Ten Studies in Church History.* Minneapolis: Augsburg Publishing House, 1935. 122pp.	AC, AP
127b.	Bruce, Gustav Marius. *Ten Studies on the Sunday School.* Minneapolis: Augsburg Publishing House, 1931. 96pp.	AC, AP
128.	Bruce, Gustav Marius, ed. *Union Documents of ELC.* Minneapolis: Augsburg Publishing House, 1948. 96pp.	AP, LTS
129.	Brueckner. Herman. *The Ideals of a Young Lutheran.* Chicago: Wartburg Publishing House, 1925. 64pp. Another edition: Wartburg Press, 1948.	AC
131.	Bryan, William Jennings. *Sidste Tale.* Minneapolis: Augsburg Publishing House, 1925. 42pp.	AP

132.	Buehring, P. H. *Modernism.* Columbus: Lutheran Book Concern, 1928. 49pp.	DC, LC, SOC, WTS
133.	Buehring, P. H. *The Spirit of the American Lutheran Church.* Columbus: The Lutheran Book Concern, 1940. 116pp.	CLC, LTS, SOC, WC, WTS
134.	Buh, Felicia. *Antonia.* Columbus: The [Lutheran] Book Concern, 1918. 95pp.	DC
134a.	Bunyan, John. *Pilegrims Vandring.* Minneapolis: The Free Church Book Concern, n.d. 558pp.	AC, CLC, LTS
135.	Burgess, Andrew. *Lan-Ta-Te, Landahl of China.* Minneapolis: Augsburg Publishing House, 1941. 116pp.	AC, AP, AuC, LC, LTS, SOC
136.	Burgess, Andrew. *Peng Fu from Junan.* Minneapolis: Augsburg Publishing House, 1939. 128pp.	AC, AP, AuC, LC, LTS, SOC
137.	Burgess, Andrew. *Ra-ha-la-hi-ko.* (*My Brother*). Minneapolis: Augsburg Publishing House, 1938. 228pp.	AC, AP, CLC, LC, LTS, SOC
138.	Burgess, Andrew. *Unkulunkulu in Zululand.* Minneapolis: Augsburg Publishing House, 1934. 263pp.	AC, AP, LC, LTS, SOC, WTS
139.	Burgess, Andrew S. *Lutheran World Mission.* Minneapolis: Augsburg Publishing House, 1954. 277pp.	AC, AP, AuC, LC, LTS, SOC, WC, WTS, DaC
139a.	Burgess, Constance and Andrew Burgess. *Little Koto, A Boy of Madagascar.* Minneapolis: Augsburg Publishing House, 1935. 30pp.	AP
141.	Burry, L. H. *The Shadow of the Cross.* Columbus: The Lutheran Book Concern, 1933. 64pp.	DC, WTS
142.	Burtness, James H. *Whatever You Do.* Minneapolis: Augsburg Publishing House, 1967. 128pp.	AP, CLC, CU, LTS, SOC, WC, WTS
143.	Burtness, James H. and John Kildahl, eds. *The New Community in Christ.* Minneapolis: Augsburg Publishing House, 1963. 208pp.	AC, AuC, CLC, CU, LC, LTS, SOC, WC, WTS, DaC
144.	Bush, Florence Lilian. *Hero Stuff.* Columbus: Wartburg Press, 1945. 63pp.	DC
145.	Butts, Walter E., Jr. *The Clear Call.* Columbus: The [Lutheran] Book Concern, 1932. 84pp.	DC, SOC
146.	*By the Obedience of One.* Compiled and edited by ELC pastors. Minneapolis: Augsburg Publishing House, 1950. 350pp.	AP, LTS, WTS

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148.	Carlsen, Clarence J. *The Years of Our Church.* Minneapolis: The Messenger Press, 1942. 221pp.	AC, AuC, CLC, LC, LTS, SOC, WTS
149.	Carolsfeld, Julius Schnorr Von. *The Life of Our Savior.* Chicago: Wartburg Publishing House, 1923. 110pp.	
150.	Carty, James W. *Advertising the Local Church.* Minneapolis: Augsburg Publishing House, 1965. 64pp.	AP, AuC, CLC, LTS
151.	Caspari, Karl Heinrich. *The Captivity of Jacob.* Columbus: The [Lutheran] Book Concern, 1927. 302pp.	WTS
152.	Chaffey, M. Ella. *The Chapel in the Woods.* Columbus: The [Lutheran] Book Concern, 1925. 96pp.	DC
153.	Chaffey, M. Ella. *A Cloud Dispelled.* Columbus: The [Lutheran] Book Concern, n.d. 96pp.	DC
154.	Chaffey, M. Ella. *In the Wilds of the Pacific Northwest.* Columbus: The [Lutheran] Book Concern, 1929. 192pp.	DC, WTS
155.	Chaffey, M. Ella. *The Little Apricot Cutter.* Columbus: The [Lutheran] Book Concern, n.d. 192pp.	
156.	Chaffey, M. Ella. *The Old Skid Road.* Columbus: The [Lutheran] Book Concern, n.d. 95pp.	DC
157.	Chaffey, M. Ella. *Osel's Story.* Columbus: The [Lutheran] Book Concern, 1925. 96pp.	DC
158.	Chaffey, M. Ella. *The Pure in Heart.* Columbus: The [Lutheran] Book Concern, 1925. 192pp.	AC, CLC, DC
159.	Chaffey, M. Ella. *Sarah Ranfly, A Pioneer Story.* Columbus: The [Lutheran] Book Concern, n.d. 235pp.	DC
160.	Chaffey, M. Ella. *Sparrows.* Columbus: The [Lutheran] Book Concern, 1928. 94pp.	DC
161.	Chaffey, M. Ella. *To Cariboo and Back.* Columbus: The [Lutheran] Book Concern, 1926. 244pp.	DC
162.	Chaffey, M. Ella. *The Two Novices* or *The Pure in Heart.* Columbus: The [Lutheran] Book Concern, 1925. 128pp.	
163.	Chaffey, M. Ella. *The Young Pilgrims.* Columbus: The [Lutheran] Book Concern, 1925. 128pp.	DC

165.	Chemnitz, Martin and Johann Gerhard. *The Doctrine of Man in Classical Lutheran Theology.* Minneapolis: Augsburg Publishing House, 1962. 248pp.	AC, AP, AuC, CU, LC, LTS, SOC, WC, WTS
165a.	*Children's Chapel Song Book.* Minneapolis: Augsburg Publishing House, 1947. 72pp.	AP
166.	Chorpenning, Frank P. *Adventures of Captivity.* Columbus: Lutheran Book Concern, 1922. 64pp.	AC
166b.	Christensen, Bernhard M. *Fire Upon the Earth.* Minneapolis: Lutheran Free Church Publishing Company, 1941. 256pp.	AC, CU, LC, LTS, SOC, WTS, DaC
166c.	*Christian Faith and the Liberal Arts.* Minneapolis: Augsburg Publishing House, 1960. 280pp.	AC, AP, AuC, CU, LC, LTS, SOC, WC, WTS
167.	Christiansen, Carl. *Den Himmelske Kaldelse.* Minneapolis: Augsburg Publishing House, 1919. 137pp.	
167a.	Christiansen, Frederick Melius. *Augsburg Collection of Church Music.* Minneapolis: Augsburg Publishing House, n.d. 87pp. Second edition: 96pp.	AP
167b.	Christiansen, Frederick Melius. *Choral Program Book.* Minneapolis: Augsburg Publishing House, 1936. 63pp.	AP
167c.	Christiansen, Frederick Melius. *Fifty Famous Hymns.* Minneapolis: Augsburg Publishing House, 1928. 54pp.	AP
167d.	Christiansen, Frederick Melius. *Hymns and Choruses for the Choral Union Festival in 1923.* Minneapolis: Augsburg Publishing House [1923] 94pp.	AP
167e.	Christiansen, Frederick Melius. *Organ Music for Church and Home.* Minneapolis: Augsburg Publishing House, 1942. 56pp.	AP
167f.	Christiansen, Frederick Melius. *Practical Modulation.* Minneapolis: Augsburg Publishing House, 1916. 43pp.	AP
167g.	Christiansen, Frederick Melius. *The Prodigal Son: A Sacred Cantata.* Minneapolis: Augsburg Publishing House, 1918. 104pp.	AP
167h.	Christiansen, F. Melius. *Reformation Cantata.* Minneapolis: Augsburg Publishing House, 1917. 64pp.	AC, AP

167i.	Christiansen, F. Melius. *St. Olaf Choir Series.* Minneapolis: Augsburg Publishing House, 1919-1926. 6 v. Vol. I & II - 221pp., Vol. III & IV - 222-46pp., Vol. V - 115pp., Vol. VI - 120pp.	AC, AP
167j.	Christiansen, F. Melius. *School of Choir Singing.* Minneapolis: Augsburg Publishing House, 1916. 90pp.	AC, AP
167k.	Christiansen, Frederick Melius. *Selected Songs for Men.* Minneapolis: Augsburg Publishing House, 1948. 80pp.	AP
167l.	Christiansen, Frederick Melius. *Service Songs for Male Voices.* Minneapolis: Augsburg Publishing House, 1943. 63pp.	AP
167m.	Christiansen, Gottlieb Bender. *Recollections of Our Church Work.* Blair, Nebraska: Lutheran Publishing House, 1930. 374pp.	DaC
167n.	Christiansen, Gottlieb Bender. *Vink for Gennemlaesning af Bibelen.* Blair, Nebraska: Lutheran Publishing House, 1918. 288pp.	DaC
168.	Christiansen, Lena. *Triumph of Faith.* Columbus: The Lutheran Book Concern, 1923. 224pp.	SOC, WTS
168a.	Christiansen, Paul. *Una Sancta.* Minneapolis: Augsburg Publishing House in cooperation with Blair, Nebraska: Lutheran Publishing House and Columbus: Wartburg Press, [1960]. 40pp.	AP
168b.	Christiansen, Ruth. *For the Heart of Africa.* Minneapolis: Augsburg Publishing House, 1956. 280pp.	AC, AP, CLC, CU, LC, LTS, SOC, DaC
169.	Christianson, C. M. (Mrs.) *Bibelhistorie for Begynderklasserne.* Vol. I, *Det gamle Testamente.* Minneapolis: Augsburg Publishing House, 1918. 111pp. Vol. II, *Det nye Testamente.* Decorah, Iowa: Lutheran Publishing House, 1915.	AP, LC, SOC
171.	Clark, Felicia Butts. *Aunt Dorothea's Diamonds.* Columbus: The Lutheran Book Concern, 1923.	
172.	Clark, Felicia Butts. *The Ivory Casket.* Columbus: The Lutheran Book Concern, 1918. 61pp.	DC, SOC
173.	Clark, Felicia Butts. *Leda.* Columbus: The Lutheran Book Concern, 1921. 64pp.	
174.	Clark, Felicia Butts. *That Ketron Streak.* Columbus: The [Lutheran] Book Concern, n.d. 128pp.	DC

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175.	Clark, Felicia Butts. *Under the Stars and Stripes.* Columbus: The Lutheran Book Concern, 1921. 64pp.	
176.	Clark, Felicia Butts. *Victor Emanuel's Orchestra.* Columbus: The Lutheran Book Concern, 1923. 95pp.	DC
177.	Clark, Felicia Butts. *Virgilia* or *Out of the Lion's Mouth.* Columbus: The Lutheran Book Concern, 1921. 91pp.	DC
178.	Clark, Felicia Butts. *The Wampum Belt.* Columbus: The Lutheran Book Concern, 1921. 96pp.	DC
179.	Clark, Felicia Butts and Blanche Margaret Milligan. *Gertrude and Virgilia.* Columbus: The Lutheran Book Concern, 1921. 192pp.	
182.	Colacci, Mario. *Christian Marriage Today.* Minneapolis: Augsburg Publishing House, 1958. 192pp. Rev. ed. 1965. 203pp.	AC, AP, CLC, CU, LC, LTS, WC
182a.	*Concordia: A Collection of Hymns and Spiritual Songs.* Minneapolis: Augsburg Publishing House, 1917. 219 hymns. Music edition: 1916. 253 hymns.	AP
182b.	*Concordia Hymnal.* Minneapolis: Augsburg Publishing House, 1932. 471pp. (Music edition). 1933. 463pp. (Word edition)	AC, AP
183.	*Confirmation: A Study Document.* Minneapolis: Augsburg Publishing House, 1964. 96pp.	AP, LC, LTS, WC, WTS
184.	Cooke, Lettie Duncan. *His Native Soil.* Columbus: Wartburg Press, 1944. 190pp.	AC, DC
188.	Correll, Hal. *The Golden Torque.* Columbus: The [Lutheran] Book Concern, 1931. 64pp.	DC
189.	Correll, Hal. *In Single Combat.* Columbus: The [Lutheran] Book Concern, n.d. 64pp.	DC
190.	Correll, Hal. *Kindness Wins.* Columbus: The [Lutheran] Book Concern, n.d. 96pp.	
191.	Correll, Hal. *The Voice of Action.* Columbus: The [Lutheran] Book Concern, n.d. 62pp.	DC
192.	Correll, Hal. *With the King's Embassy.* Columbus: The [Lutheran] Book Concern, n.d. 96pp.	DC
193.	Correll, Hal and Charles Gordon Wheeler. *Into the West and Along the Road to Freedom.* Columbus: The [Lutheran] Book Concern, n.d. 149pp.	DC

194.	Craig, William C. and R. R. Sokolowsky. *The Preacher's Voice*. Columbus: Wartburg Press, 1946. 132pp.	DC, LTS, SOC, WC, WTS, DaC
195.	Cronenwett, E. *Church, State and Drink Traffic*. Columbus: The Lutheran Book Concern, 1917. 64pp.	SOC
196.	Cronenwett, E. *Hymns and Poems*. Columbus: The Lutheran Book Concern, 1926. 345pp.	CU, WC, WTS
196a.	Crowell, Grace Noll. *Child Kneels to Pray*. Minneapolis: Augsburg Publishing House, 1950. 33pp.	AP
196b.	Crowell, Grace Noll. *Glory of Giving*. Minneapolis: Augsburg Publishing House, 1945. 45pp.	AP
196c.	Crowell, Grace Noll. *Happiness for Sale*. Minneapolis: Augsburg Publishing House, 1943. 25pp.	AP
196d.	Crowell, Grace Noll. *Little Boy Down the Lane*. Minneapolis: Augsburg Publishing House, 1952. 29pp.	AP
196e.	Crowell, Grace Noll. *Little Serving Maid*. Minneapolis: Augsburg Publishing House, 1953. 29pp.	AP
197.	Crowell, Grace Noll. *My Book of Prayer and Praise*. Minneapolis: Augsburg Publishing House, 1955. 33pp.	AC, CU, LTS
197a.	Crowell, Grace Noll. *Shining Hour*. Minneapolis: Augsburg Publishing House, 1944. 25pp.	AP
197b.	Crowell, Grace Noll. *Wood Carver*. Minneapolis: Augsburg Publishing House, 1954. 33pp.	AP
198.	Curtis, Charles J. *Soderblom: Ecumenical Pioneer*. Minneapolis: Augsburg Publishing House, 1967. 160pp.	AC, CLC, LC, LTS, WC, WTS, DaC
199.	Daehlin, Reidar A. *Pastor to Pastor*. Minneapolis: Augsburg Publishing House, 1966. 124pp.	AC, LTS, WTS
200.	Dahl, Andreas Larsen. *Hospitalsmissionen: Tvillingbyerne*. Minneapolis: Augsburg Publishing House, 1917. 133pp.	AC, AP, LC, LTS, SOC
200a.	Dahl, Borghild Margarette. *Glimpses of Norway*. Minneapolis: Augsburg Publishing House, 1935. 111pp.	AP
201.	Dahl, Dorthea. *Byen paa Berget*. Minneapolis: Augsburg Publishing House, 1925. 255pp.	AC, AP, LC, LTS, SOC

202.	Dahl, Dorthea. Returning Home. Minneapolis: Augsburg Publishing House, 1920. 133pp.	AC, AP, LC, LTS, SOC
203.	Dahl, Nellie. Stories from Madagascar. Minneapolis: Augsburg Publishing House, 1934. 172pp.	AC, AP, LTS, SOC, WTS
203a.	Dahle, John. Library of Christian Hymns. Minneapolis: Augsburg Publishing House, 1924-28. Vol. I - 320pp., Vol. II - 321-645pp., Vol. III - 647-882pp.	AC, AP
203b.	Dahle, John and M. Casper Johnshoy. The Liturgical Service of the Lutheran Church. Minneapolis: Augsburg Publishing House, and Luther Theological Seminary, 1922. 148pp.	LTS
203c.	Dale, Mars A. Ten Studies in the Stewardship of the Christian Man. Minneapolis: Augsburg Publishing House, 1943. 64pp.	AP
204.	Danielson, P. C. Laeg og Laerd. Minneapolis: Augsburg Publishing House, 1920. 125pp.	AC, AP, LC, LTS, SOC
204b.	Danish Evangelical Lutheran Synods in America. Hymnal for Church and Home. Blair, Nebraska: Danish Lutheran Publishing House, 1922. 469pp.	LTS
209.	Davis, Lovesta Dorwin. Arimathea's Gift. Columbus: Wartburg Press, 1947. 48pp.	AC, DC
210.	Deindoerfer, Johannes. Kaempfe den guten Kampf des Glaubens. Chicago: Wartburg Publishing House, n.d. 79pp.	AC, DC, WTS
211.	DeJunge, J. Found Again. Columbus: The Lutheran Book Concern, 1927. 124pp.	
	Dell, Agnes, M. Biddle. See Biddle-Dell, Agnes M.	
214.	Dell, Jacob A. Dan Workman's Big Game. Columbus: The Lutheran Book Concern, 1927. 93pp.	DC
215.	Dell, Jacob A. I Still Believe in God. Columbus: Wartburg Press, 1947. 256pp.	AC, AuC, CLC, CU, DaC, DC, LC, LTS, WC, WTS
216.	Dell, Jacob A. Junior Catechism. Columbus: The Lutheran Book Concern, 1934. 240pp.	CLC, CU, DC, LTS, WC
217.	Dell, Jacob A. Senior Catechism. Columbus: The Lutheran Book Concern, 1939. 240pp.	AC, CLC, CU, DC, LTS, WC, WTS
218.	Dell, Jacob A. Sermon Sketches on the Old Epistle Pericopes. Columbus: The Lutheran Book Concern, 1930. 158pp.	DC, LTS, WTS

219.	Dell, Jacob A. *Under A Cloud.* Columbus: The Lutheran Book Concern, 1927. 95pp.	DC
220a.	Ditmanson, Frederick. *In Foreign Fields: Foreign Missions of the Lutheran Free Church.* Minneapolis: Lutheran Board of Missions, Augsburg Seminary, 1927. 234pp.	AC, LTS, SOC, WTS
220b.	Doederlein, Gertrude. *Kamla's Good Day: A Story of India.* Minneapolis: Augsburg Publishing House, 1954. Unpaged.	AP
220c.	Doederlein, Gertrude. *Living With Our Children.* Minneapolis: Augsburg Publishing House, 1941. 216pp.	AP
221.	Doederlein, Gertrude. *The Music Box Maker.* Minneapolis: Augsburg Publishing House, 1957. 48pp.	AP, LTS
222.	Doermann, G. H. *The Story of the Early Church, Teacher's Manual.* Minneapolis: Augsburg Publishing House, 1941. 122pp.	AC, AuC, DC, SOC
223.	Doescher, Waldemar O. *The Church College in Today's Culture.* Minneapolis: Augsburg Publishing House, 1963. 127pp.	AC, AP, CLC, CU, LC, SOC, WC
224a.	Dolven, O. E. *The American Lutheran Conference.* Minneapolis: Augsburg Publishing House, 1935. 63pp.	AC, AP, LTS
226.	Drach, George, ed. *Our Church Abroad.* Columbus: The Lutheran Book Concern, 1926. 277pp.	AC, AuC, CLC, DC, LC, LTS, SOC, WC, WTS
227.	Drach, George. *The Voice of Jesus and Other Occasional Sermons.* Columbus: The Lutheran Book Concern, n.d. 151pp.	DC, WTS
228.	Drewelow, John F. *Membership Manual.* Columbus: The Lutheran Book Concern, 1929. 128pp.	AC, DC, LC, LTS, WTS
229.	Drewelow, John F. *The Ten Commandments.* Chicago: Wartburg Publishing House, 1928. 429pp.	DC, WC, WTS
230.	Duncan, Clark. *Pastor of River Bend.* Columbus: Wartburg Press, 1955. 134pp.	DC
230a.	Dybvig, Philip S. *Faith in Action.* Minneapolis: Augsburg Publishing House, 1940. 61pp.	AP
230b.	Dybvig, Philip S. *Opening Our Bibles.* Minneapolis: Augsburg Publishing House, 1951. 88pp.	AP
231.	Dybvig, Philip S. and Randolph E. Haugan, eds. *Forward March of Faith.* Minneapolis: Augsburg Publishing House, 1943. 165pp.	AP, AuC, CLC, LC, LTS, SOC, WC

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231b.	Eastvold, Seth Clarence. *Immortality, The Intermediate State and the Final Issue.* Minneapolis: Augsburg Publishing House, 1931. 112pp.	AP
232.	Eastvold, Seth Clarence. *Paul and Luther.* Minneapolis: Augsburg Publishing House, 1937. 208pp.	AC, CLC, LC, LTS, SOC, WC, WTS
233.	Eastvold, Cyril. *The Priesthood of All Believers.* Minneapolis: Augsburg Publishing House, 1962. 268pp.	AC, AP, CLC, CU, LC, LTS, SOC, WTS
234.	Eastvold, Cyril. *Royal Priesthood of the Faithful.* Minneapolis: Augsburg Publishing House, 1963. 264pp.	AC, AP, CLC, CU, LC, SOC, WTS
234a.	Eckblad, Edith Bervin. *Danny's Straw Hat.* Minneapolis: Augsburg Publishing House, 1962. Unpaged.	AP
234b.	Eckblad, Edith. *Living with Jesus.* Minneapolis: Augsburg Publishing House, 1955. 48pp.	AC, AP, LTS
234c.	Eckblad, Edith Bervin. *Something for Jesus.* Minneapolis: Augsburg Publishing House, 1959. Unpaged.	AP
234d.	Egge, Mandus A. and Janet Moede, eds. *Hymns: How to Sing them.* Minneapolis: Augsburg Publishing House, 1966. 110pp.	AP
235.	Egilsrud, Johan. *Dikte.* Minneapolis: Augsburg Publishing House, 1926. [54]pp.	SOC
236.	Eicner, Karl. *Wilhelm Loehe.* Chicago: Wartburg Publishing House, n.d. 173pp.	DC, WC
237.	Eikeland, P. J. *Norsk Grammatik.* Minneapolis: Augsburg Publishing House, 1917. 279pp.	AC, AP, LC, LTS, SOC
238.	Eliassen, Karl Oskar. *Confirmed and What Then?* Minneapolis: Augsburg Publishing House, 1918. 64pp.	LC, LTS, SOC
238a.	Ellingboe, Betty. *The Little Man from Jericho.* Minneapolis: Augsburg Publishing House, 1963. Unpaged.	AP
239.	Emch, William N. *The Question Box.* Columbus: Wartburg Press, 1956. 188pp.	AC, DaC, LTS, WTS
240.	Empie, Paul C. and James I. McCord, eds. *Marburg Revisited.* Minneapolis: Augsburg Publishing House, 1966. 208pp.	AC, AP, AuC, CLC, CU, LC, LTS, SOC, WC, WTS
240a.	Engebretson, Oscar E. *Chosen Witnesses: Studies in the Acts of the Apostles.* Minneapolis: Augsburg Publishing House, 1952. 108pp.	AP

241.	Engelbrecht, A. *Wartburg Fibel.* Chicago: Wartburg Publishing House, 1921. 108pp.	WC, WTS
242.	Engelbrecht, A. *Wartburg Lesebuch (I).* Columbus: Wartburg Press, n.d. 184pp.	DC, SOC, WC
242a.	Engelbrecht, August. *Wartburg Lesebuch (II).* Columbus: Wartburg Press, n.d. 355pp.	AP
242b.	Ericksen, Mabel Natalie. *Listening to God.* Minneapolis: Augsburg Publishing House, 1938. 144pp.	AC, AP
242c.	Erpestad, Emil. *Ten Studies in Prayer.* Minneapolis: Augsburg Publishing House, 1951. 89pp. Instructors Manual: 1951. 29pp.	AP
243.	*Erstes Lesebuch.* Columbus: The Lutheran Book Concern, 1925. 47pp.	
244.	Eubanks, L. E. *Swamps of Mystery.* Columbus: Wartburg Press, 1944. 93pp.	DC
244a.	Evangelical Lutheran Church. *The Union Documents.* Minneapolis: [Augsburg Publishing House], 1948. 87pp.	AC, AP
244b.	Evangelical Lutheran Joint Synod of Ohio and Other States. *Pocket Liturgy for the Use of Evangelical Lutheran Pastors.* Columbus: The Lutheran Book Concern, 1916. 85pp.	LTS
245.	Everette, Oliver. *Morning and Evening.* Minneapolis: Augsburg Publishing House, 1936. 52pp.	AP, LTS
246.	Everette, Oliver. *Under a Juniper Tree.* Minneapolis: Augsburg Publishing House, 1951. 70pp.	AP, CLC, LTS
247.	Evers, Ernst. *Festive Bells.* Columbus: The Lutheran Book Concern, n.d. 192pp.	DC
247a.	Evjen, John O. *The Life of J. H. W. Stuckenberg.* Minneapolis: Lutheran Free Church Publishing Company, 1938. 535pp.	AuC, CLC, CU, DaC, LC, LTS, SOC, WTS
247c.	*Faith and Order Findings: The Final Report of the Theological Commissions to the Fourth World Conference on Faith and Order, Montreal, 1963.* Minneapolis: Augsburg Publishing House, 1963. 31, 62, 63, 64pp.	AP
248.	*Favorite Hymns.* Minneapolis: Augsburg Publishing House, 1940. 72pp.	AC

249.	Fendt, Edward Charles, ed. *What Lutherans Are Thinking*. Columbus: Wartburg Press, 1947. 592pp.	AuC, CU, DaC, DC, LC, LTS, SOC, WC, WTS
249a.	Fern, Jerold. *The Struggle of a Prince or the Ministry of Christian Example*. Minneapolis: Folkebladet Publishing Company, 1920. 116pp.	AC, SOC
250.	Ferne, Esther L. *Around the Fireside*. Columbus: The [Lutheran] Book Concern, n.d. 64pp.	DC
251.	Ferne, Esther L. *A Friendly Book for Friendly Folk*. Columbus: The Lutheran Book Concern, n.d. 64pp.	DC
252.	Ferne, Esther L. *Help and Cheer*. Columbus: The [Lutheran] Book Concern, n.d. 64pp.	AC, DC
253.	Fibiger, A. *A Study of the Passion of Christ*. Minneapolis: Augsburg Publishing House, 1941. 294pp.	AP
254.	Field, Laurence N. *Family Bible Storybook*. Minneapolis: Augsburg Publishing House, 1957. 2 vols. 180, 176pp.	AP, LTS, SOC, WTS
256.	Field, Laurence N. *Johann Sebastian Bach*. Minneapolis: Augsburg Publishing House, 1943. 166pp.	AC, AP, CU, LTS, SOC, WC, WTS
257.	Field, Laurence N. *Journey to Easter*. Minneapolis: Augsburg Publishing House, 1957. 152pp.	AC, AP, CU, LTS
258.	Field, Laurence N. *Whimsy*. Minneapolis: Augsburg Publishing House, 1957. 131pp.	AC, AP, LC, LTS, WTS
259.	Finke, George. *Winning the Pacific Northwest*. Columbus: The Lutheran Book Concern, 1936. 128pp.	DC
259a.	Finn, Elizabeth M. *Greatest Gift at Christmas Time*. Minneapolis: Augsburg Publishing House, [1936]. Unpaged.	AP
260.	*Firehundredaarig Lutherdom*. Minneapolis: Augsburg Publishing House, 1917. 355pp.	AC, AP, AuC, LC, LTS, SOC
261.	Fischer, M. Hadwin. *The Story of Jesus*. Chicago: Wartburg Publishing House, 1924. 174pp. Another edition: Philadelphia: United Lutheran Publishing House.	SOC, WTS
262.	Fjellbu, Arne. *Memoirs from War Years*. Minneapolis: Augsburg Publishing House, 1947. 200pp.	AC, AP, CLC, LC, LTS, SOC, WTS
262a.	Fjelstad, H. O. *The Sunday School Teacher's Guide*. Minneapolis: Augsburg Publishing House, 1928. 135pp.	AC, AP

263.	Fjelstad, Olin C. *The Cross is Central.* Minneapolis: Augsburg Publishing House, 1950. 43pp.	AP, LTS, DaC
263a.	Fjelstad, Olin C. *Cross of Christ: Lenten Meditations.* Minneapolis: Augsburg Publishing House, 1947. 30pp.	AP
265.	Flierl, Johann. *Ernste Zeitfragen Fuer Kirche und Mission.* Chicago: Wartburg Publishing House, n.d. 58pp.	DC
266.	Flierl, Johann. *Forty-Five Years in New Guinea.* Columbus: The Lutheran Book Concern, 1931. 204pp.	AC, CLC, DC, LTS, WTS
267.	Flierl, Johann. *Wunder der Goettlichen Gnade, Evangeliste aus Menschenfressern.* Tamunda, South Australia: Selbstverlag, 1931. 303pp.	LTS, WC, WTS
268.	Floden, Halvor. *Frick.* Minneapolis: Augsburg Publishing House, 1926. 181pp.	AP, LC, LTS, SOC
269.	*For This Cause.* Compiled and edited by ELC pastors. Minneapolis: Augsburg Publishing House, 1949. 319pp.	AP, LTS
269a.	Ford, Agnes Gibbs. *Why Weepest Thou?* Minneapolis: Augsburg Publishing House, 1954. Unpaged.	AP
270.	Forell, George. *Faith Active in Love.* Minneapolis: Augsburg Publishing House, 1960. 200pp.	AC, AP, AuC, CLC, CU, DaC, LC, LTS, SOC, WTS
272.	Fossum, Andrew. *The Norse Discovery of America.* Minneapolis: Augsburg Publishing House, 1918. 160pp.	AC, AP, AuC, CLC, LC, LTS, SOC, WC, DaC
272a.	*Fra Vingaarden: Twenty-eight Kristelige Fortaellinger.* Blair, Nebraska: Danish Lutheran Publishing House, 1918. 167pp.	AC
272b.	*Free Organ Accompaniments to Festival Hymns.* Minneapolis: Augsburg Publishing House, 1963. 56pp.	AP
273.	Frerichs, Albert C. *Anutu Conquers in New Guinea.* Columbus: Wartburg Press, 1957. 272pp.	AuC, CU, DC, LC, LTS, SOC, WC, WTS
274.	Freseman, C. A. D. *The Tragedy of Calvary.* Columbus: The Lutheran Book Concern, 1938. 102pp.	AC, DC, LTS, WTS
275.	Freseman, C. A. D., G. F. Hein, W. E. Schuette, and others. *Sermon Sketches on the Old Testament Eisenach Texts.* Columbus: The Lutheran Book Concern, 1923. 159pp.	DC, LTS

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277.	Frick, H. Life and Deeds of Martin Luther. Chicago: Wartburg Publishing House, 1923.	DaC, LC
278.	Fricke, Theodore Paul. We Found Them Waiting. Columbus: The Wartburg Press, 1947. 123pp.	AC, DC, LTS, SOC, WC, WTS
279.	Fritschel, George John. Aus den Tagen der Vaeter. Chicago: Wartburg Publishing House, 1930. 195pp.	DC, WTS
280.	Fritschel, George John, comp. Quellen und Dokumente zur Geschichte und Lehrstellung der Evangelischen Lutherischen Synode von Iowa und andere Staaten. Chicago: Wartburg Publishing House, 192?. 401pp.	DC, LC, LTS, WTS
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282a.	Fritschel, Theodore L. Workbook for the Reu Catechism. Minneapolis: Augsburg Publishing House, 1963. 64pp.	AP
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283a.	Frost, Gerhard E. Law Perfect: Ten Studies on the Commandments. Minneapolis: Augsburg Publishing House, 1952. 96pp.	AP
284.	Frost, Gerhard E. These Things I Remember. Minneapolis: Augsburg Publishing House, 1963. 128pp.	AC, AP, LC, LTS, WTS
284a.	Frost, Gerhard E. and G. L. Belgum. Chapel Time. Minneapolis: Augsburg Publishing House, 1956. 149pp.	AC, AP, LC, LTS, SOC, WTS
284b.	Frost, Gerhard E. and A. Thomas Kraabel. Life in Christ. Minneapolis: Augsburg Publishing House, 1963. 80pp.	AC, AP, LTS
285.	Gangsei, Virginia. Home Is Where God Is. Minneapolis: Augsburg Publishing House, 1961. 165pp.	AP, LCL, LTS
286.	Garborg, Hulda. Hiawatha's Vision. Minneapolis: Augsburg Publishing House, 1927. 121pp.	AC, AP, AuC, CLC, LTS, SOC
287.	Garrett, W. V. and others. Change of Heart. Columbus: The Lutheran Book Concern, 1945. 59pp.	

288.	Gast, G. C. *The Gospel According to St. Luke.* Columbus: The Lutheran Book Concern, 1940. 190pp.	AC, DC, WTS
289.	*Der Geburtstag der Reformation und ein Tag aus Dr. Martin Luther's Leben.* Chicago: Wartburg Publishing House. 1917. 122pp.	AC, DC, WC, WTS
290.	Gehrman, Bunny. *Toto.* Columbus: The Lutheran Book Concern, 1946. 72pp.	DC
291.	Geismar, Eduard Oswald. *Lectures on Religious Thought of Kierkegaard.* Minneapolis: Augsburg Publishing House, 1937. 148pp.	AC, AP, CLC, CU, LC, LTS, SOC, WC, WTS, DaC
292.	Gerard, James W. *Mine fire Aar i Tyskland.* Minneapolis: Augsburg Publishing House, 1918. 368pp.	AC, AP, LC, LTS, SOC
293.	Gerberding, George Henry. *Lutheran Pastor.* Minneapolis: Augsburg Publishing House, 1902. 464pp.	
294.	Gerberding, George Henry. *Our Faith, or the Way of Salvation as Taught in Holy Scripture.* Columbus: The [Lutheran] Book Concern, [1919] 274pp.	DC, LTS
295.	Gerberding, George Henry. *Reminiscent Reflections of a Youthful Octogenarian.* Minneapolis: Augsburg Publishing House, 1928. 294pp.	AC, AP, AuC, CLC, LC, LTS, SOC
298.	Gerberding, George Henry. *The Way of Salvation in the Lutheran Church.* Minneapolis: Augsburg Publishing House, [1941] c1919. 224pp.	AC, AP, CLC, LTS, WC, WTS
300.	Gerfen, Ernst Emil. *Luther unter vier Paepsten.* Columbus: The Lutheran Book Concern, 1928. 104pp.	DC
301.	Gerfen, Ernst Emil. *Our Sacraments.* Columbus: The Lutheran Book Concern, 1923.	
302.	Giertz, Bo. *Preaching from the Whole Bible.* Minneapolis: Augsburg Publishing House, 1967. 134pp.	AP, LTS, WTS
302a.	Gilbertson, Merrill T. *The Way It Was in Bible Times.* Minneapolis: Augsburg Publishing House, 1959. 144pp.	AC, AP
302b.	Gilbertson, Merrill T. *Where It Happened in Bible Times.* Minneapolis: Augsburg Publishing House, [1963]. 168pp.	AP

302c.	Giving, Gerald R. *Cities of Bible Lands Yesterday and Today.* Minneapolis: Augsburg Publishing House, 1952. Unpaged.	AP
302d.	Giving, Gerald R. *Great Leaders of the Early Church.* Minneapolis: Augsburg Publishing House, 1951. Unpaged.	AP
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302f.	Giving, Gerald R. *Journey Through Bible Lands.* Minneapolis: Augsburg Publishing House, 1940. 47pp.	AP
302g.	Giving, Gerald R. *Life in Bible Lands Yesterday and Today.* Minneapolis: Augsburg Publishing House, 1952. Unpaged.	AP
302h.	Giving, Gerald R. *Paul the Apostle Preaches in Europe.* Minneapolis: Augsburg Publishing House, 1954. Unpaged.	AP
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303.	Glasoe, Oluf. *Church Designs.* Minneapolis: Augsburg Publishing House, 1917. 112pp.	AP, LC, LTS, SOC, WTS
304.	Glasoe, Oluf. *Omsorg for sine Egne: Indremissionsartikler.* Minneapolis: Augsburg Publishing House, 1919. 608pp.	AC, AP, LC, LTS, SOC
305.	Glover, Emily Hutson. *The Biggest Pumpkin and Other Stories.* Columbus: The [Lutheran] Book Concern, n.d. 94pp.	AC, DC
306.	Glover, Emily Hutson and Irma Hegel. *Polly Brent, Artist.* Columbus: Wartburg Press, n.d. 64pp.	DC
307.	Glover, Julia Lestarjette. *Angels Unawares.* Columbus: The [Lutheran] Book Concern, n.d. 63pp.	DC
308.	Glover, Julia Lestarjette. *Bill of the Neighborhood Shop.* Columbus: Wartburg Press, 1946.	
309.	Glover, Julia Lestarjette. *Briarwood Girls.* Columbus: Wartburg Press, n.d. 96pp.	DC
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313. Glover, Julia Lestarjette. *The Cottage Shop.* Columbus: The [Lutheran] Book Concern, n.d. 64pp. DC

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329.	Golladay, R. E. The Challenge of a New Day. Columbus: The Lutheran Book Concern, [1937]. 356pp.	CU, DU, LTS, SOC, WTS
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335.	Golladay, R. E. The Lord's Prayer. Columbus: The Lutheran Book Concern, 1920. 457pp.	AC, DC, LTS
336.	Golladay, Robert Emory. Sermons on the Catechism. [Columbus]: The Lutheran Book Concern, 1915-1921. 3 vols. 426, 461, 457pp.	DC, LTS
337.	Golladay, R. E. The Son of God Rides On. Columbus: The Lutheran Book Concern, 1938. 391pp.	AC, DC, LTS, SOC
337a.	Golladay, R. E. The Ten Commandments. Columbus: The Lutheran Book Concern, 1915. 46pp.	
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	Gorham, Elsa. See Elsa Gorham Baker.	
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340a.	Gornitzka, Odd. Living Witnesses. Minneapolis: Augsburg Publishing House, 1965. 96pp.	AP, LTS, WTS
340b.	Gornitzka, Odd. Ten Studies in Personal Evangelism. Minneapolis: Augsburg Publishing House, 1940. 71pp.	AC, AP
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342.	Graetz, Anna and Felicia Butts Clark. Two Orphans. Columbus: The Lutheran Book Concern, n.d. 128pp.	DC, SOC
343.	Graham, Henry H. The Dog Derby and Other Stories. Columbus: The [Lutheran] Book Concern, n.d.	DC
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345.	Graham, Henry H. and L. E. Eubanks. Beyond the Peaks. Columbus: The [Lutheran] Book Concern, 1942. 96pp.	AC, DC
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348a.	Griffen, Estelle. *Religious Curriculum for the Christian Kindergarten.* Minneapolis: Augsburg Publishing House, 1964. 145pp.	AP
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350.	Grimsby, Henry Peterson. *Bible Stories for Beginners: New Testament.* Minneapolis: Augsburg Publishing House, 1918. 107pp. Another edition: 1921.	LC, SOC
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360.	Gullixson, Thaddeus Frank. *The Fellowship Question.* Minneapolis: Augsburg Publishing House, n.d. 52pp.	AP
361.	Gullixson, Thaddeus Frank. *Christ for a World Like This.* Minneapolis: Augsburg Publishing House, 1955. 122pp.	AC, AP, LC, LTS, WTS
362.	Gullixson, Thaddeus Frank. *Christus Emptor.* Minneapolis: Augsburg Publishing House, 1945. 68pp.	AC, AP, AuC, LTS, SOC, WTS
363.	Gullixson, Thaddeus Frank. *God's Hall of Mirrors.* Minneapolis: Augsburg Publishing House, 1966. 128pp.	AP, LTS, WTS
364.	Gullixson, Thaddeus Frank. *In the Face of the West Wind.* Minneapolis: Augsburg Publishing House, 1963. 104pp.	AP, AuC, LC, LTS, SOC, WC, WTS

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365.	Gullixson, Thaddeus Frank. The Valley Waits. Minneapolis: Augsburg Publishing House, 1959. 112pp.	AP, LC, LTS, SOC, WTS
365a.	Guttersen, Alma A. and Regina H. Christensen. Souvenir "Norse-American Women" 1825-1925. Minneapolis: The Lutheran Free Church Publishing Company, 1926. 454pp. [Published for an unidentified centennial group].	AC, AuC, LC LTS, SOC
366.	Guttormson, Olga. Ships Will Sail Again. Minneapolis: Augsburg Publishing House, 1942. 96pp.	AC, AP, CU, LC, LTS, SOC
367.	Gyldenvand, Lily M. Call Her Blessed. Minneapolis: Augsburg Publishing House, 1967. 176pp.	AP, LTS, WTS
368.	Gyldenvand, Lily M. Of All Things. Minneapolis: Augsburg Publishing House, 1956. 117pp.	AC, AP, LTS
369.	Gyldenvand, Lily M. So You're Only Human. Minneapolis: Augsburg Publishing House, 1957. 128pp.	AP, LTS
370.	Gyldenvand, Lily M. What Am I Praying? Minneapolis: Augsburg Publishing House, 1964. 88pp.	AP, LTS, WTS
370a.	Gyldenvand, Lily M. What Am I Saying? Minneapolis: Augsburg Publishing House, 1952. 80pp.	AP, LTS
371.	Haas, John A. W. Freedom and Christian Conduct. Chicago: Wartburg Publishing House, 1923. 318pp.	AuC, LTS, SOC, WC
372.	Habel, Bernhard H. J. From A Rhymesmith's Anvil. Minneapolis: Augsburg Publishing House, 1954. 64pp.	AP, LTS
373.	Habel, Bernhard H. J. Snapshots. Minneapolis: Augsburg Publishing House, 1950. 176pp.	AP, LTS
374.	Habermann, Johann. Morning and Evening Prayers, For All Days of the Week. Chicago: Wartburg Publishing House, 1918. 171pp.	AC, DC, LTS, SOC, WC, WTS
375.	Habermann, Johann. Wachet und Betet. Chicago: Wartburg Publishing House, n.d. 150pp.	DC, WTS
376.	Haboush, Stephen A. Over the Hills of Galilee. Columbus: The [Lutheran] Book Concern, n.d. 91pp.	WTS
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378.	Hagedom, O. *The Community Church.* Columbus: The Lutheran Book Concern, n.d.	
379.	Hagen, Kristofer. *Bells Still Are Calling.* Minneapolis: Augsburg Publishing House, 1964. 177pp.	AP, LTS
380.	Hagen, W. M. *Til Faderhjemmet.* Minneapolis: The Free Church Book Concern, 1922. 79pp.	AC, LC, SOC
380a.	Hallesby, O. *Baptism: Infant Baptism.* Minneapolis: Augsburg Publishing House, 1921. 62pp.	AP, LC, LTS, SOC, WTS
381.	Hallesby, O. *Christian Life.* Minneapolis: Augsburg Publishing House, 1934. 182pp.	AP, AuC, CLC, DaC, LC, LTS, SOC, WC, WTS
382.	Hallesby, O. *Conscience.* Minneapolis: Augsburg Publishing House, 1933. 158pp.	AP, AuC, CLC, DaC, LC, LTS, SOC, WC, WTS
383.	Hallesby, O. *God's Word For Today.* Minneapolis: Augsburg Publishing House, 1937. 384pp.	AP, AuC, DaC, LC, LTS, SOC
384.	Hallesby, O. *Hovedforskjellen mellem Positiv og Liberal Teologi.* Minneapolis: Augsburg Publishing House, 1923. 43pp.	AC, AP, LC, LTS, SOC
384a.	Hallesby, O. *Infant Baptism and Adult Conversion.* Minneapolis: Augsburg Publishing House, 1964. 110pp.	CLC, CU, LTS, WTS
385.	Hallesby, O. *Infant Baptism and Adult Conversion.* Minneapolis: Lutheran Free Church Publishing Company, 1924. 94pp.	AC, CU, SOC,
385a.	Hallesby, O. *The Main Difference Between Positive and Liberal Theology.* Minneapolis: Augsburg Publishing House, 1923. 46pp.	AC, AP
385b.	Hallesby, O. *Opdragelseskristendom og Vaekkelseskristendom.* Minneapolis: Lutheran Free Church Publishing Company, 1923. 90pp.	AC, LC, LTS, SOC
386.	Hallesby, O. *Prayer.* Minneapolis: Augsburg Publishing House, 1931. 196pp.	AC, AP, AuC, CLC, DaC, LC, LTS, SOC, WC, WTS
387.	Hallesby, O. *Religious or Christian.* Minneapolis: Augsburg Publishing House, 1939. 198pp.	AP, AuC, CLC, LC, LTS, SOC, WC, WTS
388.	Hallesby, O. *Temperament and the Christian Faith.* Minneapolis: Augsburg Publishing House, 1962. 106pp.	AC, AP, LTS, WTS
389.	Hallesby, O. *Under His Wings.* Minneapolis: Augsburg Publishing House, 1932. 177pp.	AC, AP, AuC, LC, LTS, SOC, WC, WTS, DaC

390.	Hallesby, O. *Why I Am A Christian.* Minneapolis: Augsburg Publishing House, 1930. 176pp.	AC, AP, AuC, CLC, CU, DaC, LC, LTS, SOC, WC, WTS
391.	Halvorson, Arndt L. *One Life to Live.* Minneapolis: Augsburg Publishing House, 1963. 96pp.	AuC, AP, LC, LTS, WTS
392.	Halvorson, Arndt, L. *Take Up Thy Cross.* Minneapolis: Augsburg Publishing House, 1949. 128pp.	AC, AP, LTS
393.	Halvorson, Lawrence W. *Church In A Diverse Society.* Minneapolis: Augsburg Publishing House, 1964. 180pp.	AC, AP, AuC, LC, LTS, SOC, WC, WTS
394.	Halvorson, Loren E. *Exodus Into the World.* Minneapolis: Augsburg Publishing House, 1966. 115pp.	AP, AuC, LC, LTS, SOC, WC, WTS
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397.	Hannemann, Emil. *Tibut* (*New Guinea Legends*). Columbus: Wartburg Press, n.d. 94pp.	DC, LTS, WTS
398.	Hanselmann, R. *In the Jungles of New Guinea.* Columbus: The Lutheran Book Concern, 193?. 56pp.	AC, DC, LTS, SOC, WTS
398a.	Hansen, Fred C. M. *I Was Sick.* Blair, Nebraska: Lutheran Publishing House, 1953. 130pp.	DaC, WTS
398b.	Hansen, Hans C. *The Bible in Songs: Selected Passages.* Minneapolis: Augsburg Publishing House, 1934. 225pp.	AP
399.	Hansen, Paul. *Abendstille.* Columbus: The Lutheran Book Concern, 1921. 64pp.	
400.	Hansen, Paul. *Immer Vergnuegt.* Columbus: The Lutheran Book Concern, 1921. 64pp.	
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401a.	Hanson, E. Kenneth. *Little Star.* Minneapolis: Augsburg Publishing House, 1960. Unpaged.	AP
401b.	Hanson, E. Kenneth. *The Savior's Suffering.* Minneapolis: Augsburg Publishing House, 1964. 80pp.	AP
402.	Hanson, E. M. *Menigheten.* Minneapolis: Folkebladets Trykkeri, 1918. 69pp.	

404.	Hanson, James H. *Through Temptation.* Minneapolis: Augsburg Publishing House, 1959. 88pp.	AP, LTS
405.	Hanson, James H. *What Is The Church?* Minneapolis: Augsburg Publishing House, 1961. 144pp.	AP, CLC, LTS
405a.	Hanson, Oscar C. *At Your Best.* Minneapolis: Augsburg Publishing House, 1956. 98pp.	AP, CLC, LTS
406.	Hanson, Oscar C. *Good News For Every Person.* Minneapolis: Augsburg Publishing House, 1966. 56pp.	AP, WTS
407.	Hanson, Oscar C. *Live To Win.* Minneapolis: Augsburg Publishing House, 1949. 145pp.	AC, AP, CLC, LTS, WC
408.	Hanson, Oscar C. *Out of Old Ruts.* Minneapolis: Augsburg Publishing House, [1961]. 104pp.	AP, LTS
409.	Hantz, Jacob Muhlenberg. *Faith and Sight.* Columbus: The [Lutheran] Book Concern, 1931. 283pp.	CU, DC, WC, WTS
410.	Hardwig, Oswald, comp. *Wartburg Hymnal for Church, School and Home.* Chicago: Wartburg Publishing House, 1918. 472pp. Word edition: 462pp.	WC
410a.	Hardwig, Oswald. *Weine Nicht; Eine Sammlung von Grab-und Trost-Liedern.* Chicago: Wartburg Publishing House, 1917. 94pp.	AC, DC, SOC, WTS
411.	Harley, William N. *Tomahawks and Cross: A Tale of Colonial Days.* Columbus: The Lutheran Book Concern, n.d. 327pp.	DC
412.	Harley, William N. *War-Time Sermon.* Columbus: The Lutheran Book Concern, 1923.	
412a.	Harrer, C. A., comp. *Wartburg Liederbuch.* Chicago: Wartburg Publishing House, 1917. 175pp.	LTS
412b.	Harrisville, Roy A. *The Concept of Newness in the New Testament.* Minneapolis: Augsburg Publishing House, 1960. 126pp.	AC, AP
412c.	Harrisville, Roy A. *God Incognito.* Minneapolis: Augsburg Publishing House, 1956. 96pp.	AP, AuC, CLC, LTS
413.	Harrisville, Roy A. *The Miracle of Mark.* Minneapolis: Augsburg Publishing House, 1967. 128pp.	AP, CU, DaC, LC, LTS, SOC, WC, WTS
414.	Hartman, Emerson B. *Daniel the Hebrew Boy.* Columbus: Wartburg Press, 1945. 160pp.	DC
415.	Hartmann, Marcus Kristian. *We Have Found the Messiah.* Minneapolis: Augsburg Publishing House, 1936. 105pp.	AP, LTS, SOC, WTS

415a. [Haugan, Randolph Edgar]. The March of Faith. [Minneapolis: Augsburg Publishing House, 1938]. Unpaged. AP

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416. Hauge, Hans Nielsen. Autobiographical Writings of Hans Nielsen Hauge. Minneapolis: Augsburg Publishing House, 1954. 168pp. AP, LC, LTS, SOC

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420. Hay, Kathleen. Friendly House. Columbus: Wartburg Press, 1942. 125pp. AC, DC

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421a. Hay, Kathleen. The Quest of Happy Hearts. Columbus: The [Lutheran] Book Concern, n.d. 96pp. AC, DC

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425. Hegel, Irma. Merry Christmas Was Her Name. Columbus: Wartburg Press, 1941. 64pp. DC

426. Hegel, Irma. Peacock Feathers. Columbus: The [Lutheran] Book Concern, n.d. 63pp. AC, DC

427. Hegel, Irma. Something For Nothing. Columbus: Wartburg Press, n.d. 64pp. DC

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429a.	Hegge, Martin Hanson. *In Quiet Hours: Sermons*. Minneapolis: Augsburg Publishing House, 1936. 93pp.	AP
430.	Hegland, Edward. *Uniqueness of the Bible*. Minneapolis: Augsburg Publishing House, 1934. 52pp.	AP, LC, LTS, SOC
430a.	Hegland, Martin. *Aspirations: Ideals for the Christian Life*. Minneapolis: Augsburg Publishing House, 1934. 42pp.	AP
431.	Hegland, Martin. *Christianity in Education*. Minneapolis: Augsburg Publishing House, 1954. 124pp.	AP, CLC, LC, LTS, SOC, WTS
432.	Hegland, Martin. *Eyes That See*. Minneapolis: Augsburg Publishing House, 1928. 108pp.	AP, LC, LTS, SOC
433.	Hegland, Martin, arr. *For His Name's Sake*. Minneapolis: Augsburg Publishing House, 1947. 482pp.	AC, AP, CLC, LTS, SOC
434.	Hegland, Martin. *Getting Acquainted with the Bible*. Minneapolis: Augsburg Publishing House, 1936. 239pp.	AC, AP, AuC, CLC, CU, DaC, LC, LTS, SOC, WC, WTS
435.	Hegland, Martin. *In The Holy Land*. Minneapolis: Augsburg Publishing House, 1938. 166pp.	AP, DaC, LTS, SOC, WC
437.	Hegland, Martin. *Problems of Young Christians*. Minneapolis: Augsburg Publishing House, 1932. 185pp.	AC, AP, DaC, LC, LTS, SOC, WC, WTS
438.	Hegland, Martin. *The Secret of a Happy Life*. Minneapolis: Augsburg Publishing House, 1926. 134pp.	AC, AP, CLC, LC, LTS, SOC, WTS
439.	Hegland, Martin. *Thus Saith the Lord*. Minneapolis: Augsburg Publishing House, 1956. 500pp.	AC, AP, LTS
440.	Hegland, Martin. *Walking With God*. Minneapolis: Augsburg Publishing House, 1931. 368pp.	AC, AP, LC, LTS, SOC, WTS
441.	Heimarck, Theodore. *Preaching for Tethered Man*. Minneapolis: Augsburg Publishing House, 1962. 222pp.	AP, LTS, WTS
442.	Heimarck, Theodore. *The Spirit of Lent*. Minneapolis: Augsburg Publishing House, 1946. 162pp.	AP, CLC, DaC, LC, LTS, SOC, WC

443. Hein, George. Sermon Outlines on the Gospels. Columbus: The Lutheran Book Concern, n.d. 178pp. — LTS, WTS

444. Heinrich, M. History of the First Evangelical Lutheran Synod of Texas, 1851-1926. Chicago: Wartburg Publishing House, 1927. 101pp. — DC, SOC, WTS

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445a. Heins, Lester F. They Were There: When They Crucified My Lord. Minneapolis: Augsburg Publishing House, [1963]. 80pp. — AP, LTS, WTS

445b. Helland, Andreas. Georg Sverdrup. Minneapolis: The Messenger Press, 1947. 309pp. — AC, AuC, DaC, LTS, SOC, WTS

445c. Hendrickson, H. N., comp. Festsange for den Lutherske Frikiikes Ungdoms forbund. Minneapolis: The Free Church Book Concern, 1918. 3 vols. Vol. I - 28pp., Vol. II - 48pp., Vol. III - 38pp. (This volume's compilation was assisted by M. Bjoernson and Harry Anderson.) — AC

445d. Henson, Elsie Grant. The Winged Secret. Columbus: Wartburg Press, 1943. 62pp. — AC, DC

445f. Herforth, Samuel. It's A Great Life. Blair, Nebraska: Lutheran Publishing House, 1946. 132pp.

446. Hertel, W. F. Aunt Sally's Cradle. Columbus: Wartburg Press, 1943.

447. Hertel, W. F. The Golden Pencil. Chicago: Wartburg Publishing House, n.d. 64pp. — DC

448. Hertel, W. F. Paradise Alley. Chicago: Wartburg Publishing House, 1928. 109pp. — DC

449. Hertel, W. F. Redcap and Other Stories. Chicago: Wartburg Publishing House, 1929. 31pp. — DC

450. Hestenes, Joseph R. It's All In The Family. Minneapolis: Augsburg Publishing House, 1959. 128pp. — AP, LTS, SOC

451. Hesterman, Lowell L. Missionary Pioneers of the American Lutheran Church. Minneapolis: Augsburg Publishing House, 1967. 64pp. — AP, CLC, LTS, SOC, WC, WTS

452. Hetle, Erik. Lars Wilhelm Boe. Minneapolis: Augsburg Publishing House, 1949. 203pp. — AP, CLC, LC, LTS, SOC, WC, WTS

453. Heuch, Johan Christian. Pastoral Care of the Sick. Minneapolis: Augsburg Publishing House, 1949. 158pp. — AC, AP, LC, LTS, SOC, WTS

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454a.	Hofmann, Johann Christian Konrad Von. *Interpreting the Bible.* Minneapolis: Augsburg Publishing House, [1959]. 236pp.	AP
456.	Hoffman, Frantz and Mary E. Ireland. *Joseph Haydn's Two Proverbs.* Columbus: The Lutheran Book Concern, 1922. 96pp.	DC
457.	Hoffman, Frantz and Mary E. Ireland. *Three Ships of the Desert.* Columbus: The Lutheran Book Concern, 1923. 94pp.	DC
458.	Hoffman, Frantz and Mary E. Ireland. *The Young Patriot.* Columbus: The Lutheran Book Concern, 1922. 192pp.	
459.	Hoffmann, Paul. *The Fleeting Follower.* Minneapolis: Augsburg Publishing House, 1962. 144pp.	AP, LTS, WTS
460.	Hofrenning, James B. *His Hand Upon Me.* Minneapolis: Augsburg Publishing House, 1955. 127pp.	AP, AuC, LTS, SOC
461a.	Holand, Hjalmar Rued. *Coon Prairie; en historisk Beretning om de Norske Evangeliske Lutherske Menighet paa Coon Prairie.* Minneapolis: Augsburg Publishing House, 1927. 236pp.	AP
462.	Holck, Manfred. *Accounting Methods for the Small Church.* Minneapolis: Augsburg Publishing House, 1961. 116pp.	AC, AP, CLC, LC, LTS
463.	Holck, Manfred. *Money Management for Ministers.* Minneapolis: Augsburg Publishing House, 1966. 160pp.	AP, LTS, WTS
464.	Hollensen, Martin E. *Is It True?* Columbus: Wartburg Press, 1958. 197pp.	AC, DC, LTS, WTS
465.	Holum, John R. *Of Test Tubes and Testaments.* Minneapolis: Augsburg Publishing House, 1965. 69pp.	AC, AP, AuC, CU, LC, LTS, WTS
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470.	Hove, E. *Christian Doctrine*. Minneapolis: Augsburg Publishing House, 1930. 474pp.	AP, AuC, LC, LTS, SOC, WTS
471.	Hoversten, Chester E. *The Prince and the Prophet*. Minneapolis: Augsburg Publishing House, 1963. 124pp.	AP, LTS, WTS
472.	Hoyer, Conrad. *Life in the Kingdom of God*. Columbus: The [Lutheran] Book Concern, 1945. 80pp.	DC, LTS, SOC
473.	Huggenvik, Theodore. *The Approach to Jesus*. Minneapolis: Augsburg Publishing House, 1934. 135pp.	AC, AP, LC, LTS, SOC
474.	Huggenvik, Theodore. *Fourteen Men Who Knew Christ*. Minneapolis: Augsburg Publishing House, 1931. 160pp.	AP, CLC, LC, LTS, SOC
475.	Huggenvik, Theodore. *A God Who Likes Me*. Minneapolis: Augsburg Publishing House, 1956. 97pp.	AC, AP, AuC, LC, LTS, SOC
475b.	Huggenvik, Theodore. *An Outline of Church History*. Minneapolis: Augsburg Publishing House, 1935. 297pp. Second edition: 1939. 322pp.	AC, AP
475c.	Huggenvik, Theodore. *Victory by the Cross*. Minneapolis: Augsburg Publishing House, 1954. 128pp.	AP, LTS, SOC
476.	Huggenvik, Theodore. *We Believe*. Minneapolis: Augsburg Publishing House, 1950. 150pp.	AP, CU, DaC, LC, LTS, SOC, WC, WTS
477.	Huggenvik, Theodore. *Your Key to the Bible*. Minneapolis: Augsburg Publishing House, 1944. 220pp.	AP, AuC, CLC, CU, LC, LTS, SOC, WC, WTS
477a.	Hulme, William Edward. *Building a Christian Marriage*. Minneapolis: Augsburg Publishing House, 1965. 120pp.	AP
478.	Hulme, William E. *The Dynamics of Sanctification*. Minneapolis: Augsburg Publishing House, 1966. 200pp.	AP, AuC, CLC, CU, LTS, SOC, WC, WTS
479.	Hulme, William E. *Your Pastor's Problems*. Minneapolis: Augsburg Publishing House, 1967. 168pp.	AP, CU, LC, LTS, WC, WTS
481.	Hustad, Alice M. *Strictly Confidential*. Minneapolis: Augsburg Publishing House, 1944. 102pp.	AP, CU, DaC, LC, LTS, SOC, WTS

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482.	Hutten, Kurt. *Iron Curtain Christians.* Minneapolis: Augsburg Publishing House, 1967. 495pp.	AC, AP, CLC, CU, LC, LTS, SOC, WC, WTS
483.	Hygen, Johan. *Morality and the Muses.* Minneapolis: Augsburg Publishing House, [1965]. 113pp.	AP, CLC, CU, LC, LTS, WC
483a.	*Hymn of the Week: A Song Book.* Minneapolis: Augsburg Publishing House, 1965. 64pp.	AP
483b.	*Hymns and Choruses for the Choral Union Festival.* Minneapolis: Augsburg Publishing House, 1923. 94pp.	AP
483c.	*Hymns for Church Schools.* Minneapolis: Augsburg Publishing House, 1929. 188pp.	AC, AP
483d.	Ibsen, Henrik. *Terje Viken.* Minneapolis: The Free Church Book Concern, 1918. 56pp.	LC, SOC
483e.	Ibsen, Henrik. *Terje Wiegen.* Translated by D. Svennungsen. Minneapolis: Augsburg Publishing House, 1923. 30pp.	AC, AP
484.	*In Whom We Live.* Compiled and edited by ELC Pastors. Minneapolis: Augsburg Publishing House, 1949. 319pp.	AP, LTS
484a.	*The Indictment: A Novel from Behind the Iron Curtain.* Minneapolis: Augsburg Publishing House, [1960]. 95pp.	AP
485.	Ingles, J. Wesley. *Fair Are the Meadows.* Minneapolis: Augsburg Publishing House, 1941. 250pp.	AP, LC, SOC
486.	Ireland, Mary E. *Florine Lorimor.* Columbus: The Lutheran Book Concern, 1925. 64pp.	
~~486a.~~	~~Ireland, Mary E. Joseph Haydn's Two Proverbs. Columbus: Lutheran Book Concern, n.d.~~	
487.	Ireland, Mary E. *Thamar and the Destruction of Jerusalem.* Columbus: The [Lutheran] Book Concern, 1918? 127pp.	DC, SOC
488.	Ireland, Mary E. *Tortugas Island.* Columbus: The Lutheran Book Concern, 1923. 96pp.	DC
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491.	Jacobsen, Adolph. Studstoner. Minneapolis: Augsburg Publishing House, 1921. 174pp.	AP
492.	Jacobson, Millie Bock. For The Story Hour. Minneapolis: Augsburg Publishing House, 1929. 93pp.	AP
494.	Jenny, Gerald. Youth Movement in the American Lutheran Church. Minneapolis: Augsburg Publishing House, 1928. 177pp.	AP, AuC, LTS, SOC, WC, WTS
496.	Jensen, Gustav. The Ministry. Minneapolis: Augsburg Publishing House, 1932. 149pp.	AP, CLC, LC, LTS, SOC
497.	Jensen, John M. The United Evangelical Lutheran Church. Minneapolis: Augsburg Publishing House, [1964]. 311pp.	AC, AP, AuC, CLC, CU, DaC, LC, LTS, SOC, WC, WTS
499.	Jensen, Kai. The Answer of Faith. Minneapolis: Augsburg Publishing House, 1961. 115pp.	AP, DaC, LTS
500.	Jensen, Kai. In The Hollow of His Hand. Minneapolis: Augsburg Publishing House, 1963. 128pp.	AP, AuC, LTS, WTS
501.	Jervell, Jacob. The Continuing Search for the Historical Jesus. Minneapolis: Augsburg Publishing House, 1965. 106pp.	AC, AP, AuC, CLC, CU, DaC, LC, LTS, SOC
502.	John, Erwin E. The Key to a Successful Church Library. Minneapolis: Augsburg Publishing House, 1958. [44pp.] Revised Edition: 1968. 48pp.	AP, SOC, WC, WTS
504.	Johnsen, Erik Kristian. Brevet til Hebraerne. Minneapolis: Augsburg Publishing House, 1922. 389pp.	AC, AP, LC, LTS, SOC
504a.	Johnsen, Erik Kristian. Guds Rige i det gamle Testamente. Minneapolis: Augsburg Publishing House, n.d. 63pp.	AP
505.	Johnsen, Erik Kristian. The Passion Story of Our Lord Jesus Christ. Minneapolis: Augsburg Publishing House, 1930. 87pp.	AC, AP, LC, LTS, SOC
506.	Johnsen, Erik Kristian. Paul of Tarsus. Minneapolis: Augsburg Publishing House, 1921. 375pp.	AP, AuC, LC, LTS, SOC, WTS
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508a.	Johnshoy, Martinus Casper. *Beautiful Savior: A Sacred Cantata.* [Minneapolis: Augsburg Publishing House, 1928]. 55pp.	AP
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508c.	Johnshoy, Martinus Casper. *Great Deliverance: A Sacred Cantata.* [Minneapolis: Augsburg Publishing House, 1922]. 56pp.	AP
508d.	Johnshoy, Martinus Casper. *The Jubilate Series... Orchestration for Hymns... in the Concordia Hymnal.* [Minneapolis: Augsburg Publishing House, n.d.] 64pp.	AP
508e.	Johnson, Alex. *Eivind Berggrav - God's Man of Suspense.* Minneapolis: Augsburg Publishing House, [1960]. 222pp.	AC, AP
509.	Johnson, Christine. *For the Women of China and Through Bible Lands.* Minneapolis: Augsburg Publishing House, 1928. 263pp.	AP, AuC, LC, LTS, SOC
510.	Johnson, Clare. *Boy of the Woods.* Columbus: The [Lutheran] Book Concern, n.d. 94pp.	DC
510a.	Johnson, David N. *Gloria Deo: Easy Anthems for Soprano, Alto and Baritone.* Minneapolis: Augsburg Publishing House, 1967. 63pp.	AP
510b.	Johnson, David N. *Instruction Book For Beginning Organists.* [Minneapolis:] Augsburg Publishing House, [1964]. 186pp.	AP
511.	Johnson, Edythe J. *Black and White.* Columbus: The [Lutheran] Book Concern, n.d. 456pp.	DC
511a.	Johnson, Marian S. *Planning and Furnishing the Church Library.* Minneapolis: Augsburg Publishing House, [1966]. 47pp.	AP
511b.	Johnson, Marian S. *Promoting Your Church Library.* Minneapolis: Augsburg Publishing House, [1968]. 48pp.	AP
511c.	Johnson, Marion A. *How To Write Better Curriculum.* Minneapolis: Augsburg Publishing House, 1964. 71pp.	AP
512.	Johnson, Simon. *Fallitten paa Braastad.* Minneapolis: Augsburg Publishing House, 1922. 456pp.	AC, AP, LC, LTS, SOC

513.	Johnson, Simon. *Fire Fortaellinger.* Minneapolis: Augsburg Publishing House, 1917. 253pp.	AC, AP, AuC, LC, LTS, SOC
514.	Johnson, Simon. *Frihetens Hjem.* Minneapolis: Augsburg Publishing House, 1925. 361pp.	AC, AP, LC, LTS, SOC
515.	Johnston, M. Q. *Remember Now.* Columbus: Wartburg Press, n.d. 96pp.	DC
516.	Johnston, Rose Butcher. *The Call of the Hill Country.* Columbus: Wartburg Press, 1945. 192pp.	AC, DC
517.	Jones, Clara J. *Above the Tumult in China.* Minneapolis: Augsburg Publishing House, 1949. 192pp.	AP, CLC, LC, LTS, WTS
518.	Jordahl, D. C. *Church Records for Lutheran Congregations.* Minneapolis: Augsburg Publishing House, 1921.	AP
520.	Jorgensen, Alfred Theodore. *Martin Luther.* Minneapolis: Augsburg Publishing House, 1953. 232pp.	AP, CU, DaC, LC, SOC, WC
521.	Joscelyn, Archie. *The Beast of Babylon.* Minneapolis: Augsburg Publishing House, 1963. 272pp.	AP, LTS, WTS
522.	*Junior Hymnal for Church and Home.* Blair, Nebraska: Lutheran Publishing House, 1953. 288pp. Another edition: 1944. 288pp. First edition: 1932. (Not located)	AC
523.	Jurgensen, Barbara. *All the Bandits of China.* Minneapolis: Augsburg Publishing House, 1965. 192pp.	AP, AuC, CLC, LTS, WTS
524.	Jurgensen, Barbara. *Leaping Upon The Mountains.* Minneapolis: Augsburg Publishing House, 1960. 100pp.	AC, AP, LTS
525.	Kallas, James G. *The Story of Paul.* Minneapolis: Augsburg Publishing House, 1966. 160pp.	AP, CLC, LTS, WTS
526.	Kantonen, T. A. *The Message of the Church to the World of Today.* Minneapolis: Augsburg Publishing House, 1941. 165pp.	AP, AuC, CU, LC, LTS, SOC, WC, WTS
530.	Keiser, Albert. *Lutheran Mission Work Among American Indians.* Minneapolis: Augsburg Publishing House, 1922. 189pp.	AC, AP, AuC, DaC, LC, LTS, SOC, WC, WTS
531.	Keller, John E. *Ministering to Alcoholics.* Minneapolis: Augsburg Publishing House, 1966. 158pp.	AP, AuC, CU, LTS, WC, WTS
533.	Kerr, James S. *The Key to Good Church Drama.* Minneapolis: Augsburg Publishing House, 1964. 72pp.	AC, AP, CLC, LC, LTS, WTS

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533a.	Kerr, James S. *Whose Zoo?* Minneapolis: Augsburg Publishing House, [1963]. Unpaged.	AP
534.	Kierkegaard, Soeren. *Edifying Discourses.* Minneapolis: Augsburg Publishing House, 1962. Vol. I - 240pp., Vol. II - 254pp.	AP, CLC, CU
535.	Kierkegaard, Soeren. *Edifying Discourses.* Minneapolis: Augsburg Publishing House, 1943-46. Vol. I - 123pp., Vol. II - 114pp., Vol. III - 252pp., Vol. IV - 146pp.	AP, AuC, CU, LC, LTS, SOC, WC, WTS
539.	Kierkegaard, Soeren. *For Self-Examination.* Minneapolis: Augsburg Publishing House, 1940. 104pp.	AC, AP, AuC, CLC, CU, LTS, SOC, WC, WTS
540.	Kierkegaard, Soeren. *The Gospel of Suffering and The Lilies of the Field.* Minneapolis: Augsburg Publishing House, 1948. 240pp.	AC, AP, CLC, CU, LTS, SOC, WC, WTS
541.	Kierkegaard, Soeren. *Thoughts on Crucial Situations in Human Life.* Augsburg Publishing House, 1941. 118pp.	AC, AP, CLC, CU, LTS, SOC, WC, WTS
542.	Kildahl, Harold B. *Family Affairs.* Minneapolis: Augsburg Publishing House, 1948. 112pp.	AC, AP, LC, LTS
543.	Kildahl, Harold B. *His Workshop.* Minneapolis: Augsburg Publishing House, 1919. 87pp.	AC, AP, LC, LTS, SOC
544.	Kildahl, Harold B. *Thy Rod and Thy Staff.* Minneapolis: Augsburg Publishing House, 1949. 396pp.	AP, LTS
545.	Kildahl, J. N. *Concerning Sin and Grace.* Minneapolis: Augsburg Publishing House, 1954. 428pp.	AP, LTS
545a.	Kildahl, J. N. *The Holy Spirit and Our Faith.* Minneapolis: Augsburg Publishing House, 1937. 86pp.	AC, AP, LTS
546.	Kildahl, J. N. *Misconceptions of the Word and Work of the Holy Spirit.* Minneapolis: Augsburg Publishing House, 1927. 63pp.	AC, AP, LC, LTS, SOC, WTS
548.	Kildahl, J. N. *Misforstaaelse av den Helligaands ord og Gjerning.* Minneapolis: Augsburg Publishing House, 1919. 63pp. Revised edition: Same year.	AC, AP, LC LTS, SOC
549.	Kildahl, J. N. *Synd og Naade.* Minneapolis: Augsburg Publishing House, 1920. 361pp.	AC, AP, LTS, SOC
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552.	Kirkeberg, O. L. *Jesu liv og Gjerning.* Minneapolis: Augsburg Publishing House, n.d. 304pp.	AC, AP, LTS, SOC
553.	Kirkeberg, O. L. *Til Oplysning og Opbygelse.* Minneapolis: Augsburg Publishing House, 1917. 172pp.	AC, AP, LC, LTS, SOC
553a.	Kirkwood, Ellen Swan. *Sandals for Jesus.* Minneapolis: Augsburg Publishing House, 1968. 62pp.	AP
554.	Kjer, Ludwig Peder. *The Church Militant.* Minneapolis: Augsburg Publishing House, 1930. 120pp.	AP, LC, SOC
555.	Kjeseth, Peter L. *The Final Act.* Minneapolis: Augsburg Publishing House, [1967]. 121pp.	AP, LTS, SOC, WC, WTS, DaC
556.	Kjome, Jane. *Back of Beyond.* Minneapolis: Augsburg Publishing House, 1963. 238pp.	AP, LC, LTS, WTS
557.	Klausler, Alfred Paul. *Midnight Lion, Gustavus Adolphus.* Minneapolis: Augsburg Publishing House, 1957. 140pp.	AC, AP, AuC, LC, LTS, WTS
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559.	Klueppel, P. *The Holy Spirit in the Life and Teaching of Jesus and in the Early Christian Church.* Columbus: The Lutheran Book Concern, 1929. 145pp.	AC, DC, LTS, SOC, WC, WTS
560.	Klykken, O. *Our Father.* Minneapolis: Augsburg Publishing House, 1918. 229pp.	AC, AP, LC, LTS, SOC
561.	Knudsen, Kund. *Beretning om en Reise fra Drammen til New York.* Minneapolis: Augsburg Publishing House, 1926. 32pp. Facsimile of an 1840 publication.	AC
562.	Knutson, Joseph. *With Hands Uplifted.* Minneapolis: Augsburg Publishing House, 1947. 159pp.	AC, AP, LTS
563.	Knutson, Kent S. *His Only Son, Our Lord.* Minneapolis: Augsburg Publishing House, 1966. 113pp.	AP, AuC, LTS, SOC, WC, WTS
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564a.	Koerner, Emil. *Luther und die Schrift.* Chicago: Wartburg Publishing House, n.d. 155pp.	AC, DC, WTS

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566.	Kraabel, Alf M. Full-Grown in Christ. Minneapolis: Augsburg Publishing House, 1941. 132pp.	AP, AuC, CLC, LC, LTS
566a.	Kraabel, Alf M. Ten Studies on the Sacraments. Minneapolis: Augsburg Publishing House, 1954. 116pp.	AP
566b.	Krapf, Gerhard. Organ Improvisations: A Practical Approach to Chorale Elaborations for the Service. Minneapolis: Augsburg Publishing House, [1967]. 117pp.	AP
567.	Krauth, Charles P. The Conservative Reformation and Its Theology. Minneapolis: Augsburg Publishing House, 1963. 840pp.	AC, AuC, CLC, CU, LTS, SOC, WC, WTS
568.	Krebs, Ervin E. The Lutheran Church and the Negro in America. Columbus: Board of American Missions, 1950. 104pp.	AC, LC, LTS, SOC, WC, WTS
569.	Kretzmann, Adalbert R. Pastor at Prayer. Minneapolis: Augsburg Publishing House, 1957. 64pp.	AP, LTS, WTS
570.	Kretzmann, Otto Paul and A. C. Oldsen. Voices of the Passion. Minneapolis: Augsburg Publishing House, 1954. 127pp.	AP, DaC, LTS, SOC, WTS
571.	Kretzmann, Paul E. In the Days of Solomon. Columbus: The [Lutheran] Book Concern, 1931. 126pp.	AC, DC
572.	Kretzmann, Paul E. John Ludwig Krapf. Columbus: The [Lutheran] Book Concern, 1929. 159pp.	DC, LC, SOC, WTS
573.	Kretzmann, Paul E. Love Not the World. Columbus: The [Lutheran] Book Concern, n.d. 93pp.	DC
574.	Kretzmann, Paul E. Missionary Stories for Young People. Columbus: The Lutheran Book Concern, 1927. 158pp.	AC, DC, DaC,
575.	Kretzmann, Paul E. The Mountain School. Columbus: The Lutheran Book Concern, n.d. 94pp.	DC
576.	Kretzmann, Paul E. The Pot of Gold and Other Missionary Stories. Columbus: The Lutheran Book Concern, n.d. 123pp.	DC
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579.	Kuhlman, Arthur H. *The Parson Hill.* Columbus: The Lutheran Book Concern, 1923. 64pp.	
580.	Kuhlman, Arthur H. *Pulpit and Battlefield.* Columbus: The [Lutheran] Book Concern, 1922. 128pp.	AC, DC, WTS
581.	Kuhlman, Arthur H. *Studies for Luther Leagues.* Columbus: The Lutheran Book Concern, 1923.	
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583.	Kuhlmann, Edward. *Choosing Our Memories.* Columbus: Wartburg Press, 1954. 188pp.	DC, WC
584.	Kuhlmann, Edward. *Cross Examined.* Columbus: The Lutheran Book Concern, 1940. 95pp.	AC, DC, WTS
585.	Kuhlmann, Edward. *Earthly Basket for Heavenly Gifts.* The [Lutheran] Book Concern, n.d. 64pp.	DC
586.	Kuhlmann, Edward. *God's Children at Prayer.* Columbus: Wartburg Press, 1930. 64pp.	AC, DC, LTS
587.	Kuhlmann, Edward. *He Will Teach Us.* Columbus: The [Lutheran] Book Concern, 1947. 64pp.	AC, DC, LTS
588.	Kuhlmann, Edward. *How Do You Do?* Columbus: Wartburg Press, 1949. 188pp.	AC, CU, DC, LTS
589.	Kuhlmann, Edward. *Little Journeys on Highway 10.* Columbus: [Lutheran] Book Concern, 1930. 62pp.	DC, LTS
590.	Kuhlmann, Edward. *Marks of Distinction.* Columbus: Wartburg Press, 1958. 161pp.	
591.	Kuhlmann, Edward. *Paths of Prayer.* Columbus: The [Lutheran] Book Concern, n.d. 64pp.	DC
592.	Kuhlmann, Edward. *Proudly We Hail.* Columbus: Wartburg Press, 1944. 72pp.	AC, CLC, DC, DaC, LC, LTS, SOC, WTS
593.	Kuhlmann, Edward. *Seed Thoughts.* Columbus: The [Lutheran] Book Concern, n.d. 255pp.	DC
594.	Kuhlmann, Edward. *A Story A Day.* Columbus: Wartburg Press, 1957. 56pp.	DC
595.	Kuhlmann, Edward. *Teach Me Thy Way.* The [Lutheran] Book Concern, n.d. 64pp.	DC

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597.	Kuhlmann, Edward. *Watch Yourself Go By.* Columbus: The [Lutheran] Book Concern, 1936. 174pp.	AC, CU, DC, DaC, LC, SOC, WTS
598.	Kuhlmann, Edward. *What We Learned on Highway 10.* Columbus: The [Lutheran] Book Concern, [1930]. 62pp.	AC
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600.	Kulow, Nelle Wahler. *Even as You and I.* Columbus: Wartburg Press, 1955. 72pp.	WTS
601.	Kvamme, Rodney A. *Profiles of the Christ.* Minneapolis: Augsburg Publishing House, 1966. 95pp.	AP, LTS, WTS
601a.	Laache, N. *Explanation of Luther's Small Catechism, Based on Pontoppidan's Explanation.* Minneapolis: Augsburg Publishing House, 1933. 62pp.	AP
601b.	Landstad, M. B. *Kirkesalmebog.* Minneapolis: Frikirkens Boghandel, 1921. 812pp.	AC
601c.	Landstad, M. B. *Salmebog for Lutherske Kristne i Amerika.* Minneapolis: Forenede Kirkes Forlag, 1919. 702, 376, 26pp. Other editions: 1925, 1936. Original edition: Redwing: Hauges Synodes Forlag 1895. 805, 506pp.	AP
602.	Langehough, Mabel. *Lost Letter and Other Stories.* Minneapolis: Augsburg Publishing House, 1958. 120pp.	AP, LTS
602a.	Langholz, Norman L. *Decision Making: Steps in Problem Solving for Church Groups.* Minneapolis: Augsburg Publishing House, 63pp.	AP
603.	Larsen, Beverly. *Damsel From Afar.* Minneapolis: Augsburg Publishing House, 1965. 96pp.	AP, LTS
604.	Larsen, Herman Astrup. *By Man Rejected.* Minneapolis: Augsburg Publishing House, 1953. 208pp.	AP, LTS, SOC, WC
605.	Larsen, Nikolai Astrup and R. A. Ofstedal. *Should We Join the World Council of Churches?* Minneapolis: Augsburg Publishing House, 1947, 71pp.	AC, AP, LC, LTS, SOC

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605a.	Lavik, John Rasmus. *Baptism and Faith*. [Minneapolis: Augsburg Publishing House, 1960]. 65pp.	AP
606.	Lavik, John Rasmus. *The Bible Is The Word of God*. Minneapolis: Augsburg Publishing House, [1959]. 62pp.	AP, LC, LTS, SOC, WC, WTS
607.	Lavik, John Rasmus. *Christian Church in a Secularized World*. Minneapolis: Augsburg Publishing House, 1952. 153pp.	AC, AP, CLC, LC, LTS, SOC, WTS
608.	Lavik, John Rasmus. *Power From On High*. Minneapolis: Augsburg Publishing House, 1934. 97pp.	AP, LC, LTS, SOC
609.	Lavik, John Rasmus. *The Way, The Truth, and The Life*. Minneapolis: Augsburg Publishing House, 1957. 270pp.	AC, AP, LC, LTS, SOC, WTS
610.	La Wall, Irene. *Land That I Love*. Columbus: Wartburg Press, 1945. 100pp.	DC
611.	Lee, Allen U. *My Soul More Bent*. Minneapolis: Augsburg Publishing House, 1948. 111pp.	AP, LC, LTS, SOC, WTS
612.	Lee, Carvel. *Tender Tyrant*. Minneapolis: Augsburg Publishing House, 1961. 190pp.	AC, AP, CU, LTS, WTS
613.	Lee, Clarence L. *Beneath the Cross of Jesus*. Minneapolis: Augsburg Publishing House, 1935. 67pp.	AP, LC, LTS, SOC
614.	Lee, Clarence L. *Bruised For Our Iniquities*. Minneapolis: Augsburg Publishing House, 1938. 74pp.	AP, LTS, SOC
615.	Lee, Clarence L. *Seven Questions on Our Lord's Passion*. Minneapolis: Augsburg Publishing House, 1935. 65pp.	AP, LC, LTS, SOC
616.	Lee, Gustav Torguson. *Church and State*. Minneapolis: Augsburg Publishing House, 1927. 76pp.	AC, AP
617.	Lee, Gustav Torguson. *Light of the World*. Minneapolis: Augsburg Publishing House, 1943. 96pp.	AP, CLC, LC, LTS, SOC, WTS
617a.	Lee, Knute. *Plain Talk in an Arctic Chapel*. Minneapolis: Augsburg Publishing House, 1954. 192pp.	AP, LC, LTS, WTS
618.	Lee, Olav. *Second Coming of Christ*. Minneapolis: Augsburg Publishing House, 1954. 192pp.	AC, AP, LC, LTS, SOC
619.	Lee, Robert E. A., ed. *Martin Luther: The Reformation Years*. Minneapolis: Augsburg Publishing House, 1967. 96pp.	AP, CLC, LC, LTS, SOC, WC, WTS

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620.	Lehmann, Martin. Justus Jonas, Loyal Reformer. Minneapolis: Augsburg Publishing House, 1962. 210pp.	AP, CLC, LC, LTS, SOC, WTS
621.	Leinweber, R. Life of Jesus and His Disciples. Chicago: Wartburg Publishing House, 1923. 106pp.	
623.	Lenker, John Nicholas. Lutherans In All Lands. Chicago: Wartburg Publishing House, 1923. 842pp. Other editions: Milwaukee: Lutherans in All Lands Company, 1894. Chicago: Wartburg Publishing House, 1896. 831pp.	AC, SOC, WC, WTS
624.	Lenski, Gerhard E. Forgotten Friends. Columbus: The [Lutheran] Book Concern, 1927. 121pp.	AC, DC, LC, LTS, WTS
625.	Lenski, Gerhard E. Great Christians in Great Crisis. Columbus: The Lutheran Book Concern, 1925. 95pp.	DC, LTS
626.	Lenski, Gerhard E. Marriage in the Lutheran Church Columbus: The Lutheran Book Concern, 1936. 377pp.	AC, DC, LTS, WC, WTS, DaC
627.	Lenski, Gerhard E. Pen Pictures of Prophets. Columbus: The Lutheran Book Concern, 1922. 113pp.	DC, LTS, WTS
628.	Lenski, Gerhard E. The Praise of Him Who Died. Columbus: The Lutheran Book Concern, 1925. 143pp.	CLC, DC, LTS, SOC, WTS
629.	Lenski, Gerhard E. Stirring Scenes from the Life of Luther. Columbus: The Lutheran Book Concern, 1935. 92pp.	AC, CU, DC
630.	Lenski, Gerhard E. When God Gave Easter. Minneapolis: Augsburg Publishing House, 1941. 134pp.	AP, LC, WTS
631.	Lenski, Richard Charles Henry. The Active Church Member. Columbus: The Lutheran Book Concern, 1922. 206pp.	DC, LTS, WC, WTS
632.	Lenski, Richard Charles Henry. The Eisenach Old Testament Selections. Columbus: The Lutheran Book Concern, 1925. 1121pp.	DC, LC, LTS, WTS
633.	Lenski, Richard Charles Henry. The Epistle Selections of the Ancient Church. Columbus: The Lutheran Book Concern, 1935. 932pp.	AC, DC, WTS
634.	Lenski, Richard Charles Henry. Gospel Selections of the Ancient Church. Columbus: The Lutheran Book Concern, 1936. 1003pp.	DC, WTS
635.	Lenski, Richard and Charles Henry. The Interpretation of Hebrews and James. Columbus: The Lutheran Book Concern, 1938. 685pp.	AC, DC, LTS, WC, WTS

636.	Lenski, Richard Charles Henry. *The Interpretation of St. John's Gospel.* Columbus: The Lutheran Book Concern, 1931. 1418pp.	AuC, CLC, CU, DaC, DC, LTS, WC, WTS
637.	Lenski, Richard Charles Henry. *The Interpretation of St. John's Revelation.* Columbus: The Lutheran Book Concern, 1936. 686pp.	AuC, CLC, CU, DC, LTS, WC, WTS
638.	Lenski, Richard Charles Henry. *The Interpretation of St. Luke's Gospel.* Columbus: The Wartburg Press, 1946. 1212pp.	CU, DC, LC, LTS, WC, WTS
639.	Lenski, Richard Charles Henry. *The Interpretation of St. Mark's and St. Luke's Gospels.* Columbus: The Lutheran Book Concern, 1934. 486, 761pp.	AC, AuC, CLC, DC, LTS, WC, WTS
640.	Lenski, Richard Charles Henry. *The Interpretation of St. Mark's Gospel.* Columbus: Wartburg Press, 1946. 775pp.	CU, DC, LC, WC, WTS
641.	Lenski, Richard Charles Henry. *The Interpretation of St. Matthew's Gospel.* Columbus: The Lutheran Book Concern, 1932. 1161pp.	AuC, CLC, CU, DC, LC, LTS, WC, WTS
642.	Lenski, Richard Charles Henry. *The Interpretation of St. Paul's Epistle to the Romans.* Columbus: The Lutheran Book Concern, 1936. 934pp.	AC, AuC, CLC, CU, DC, LTS, WC, WTS
644.	Lenski, Richard Charles Henry. *Interpretation of St. Paul's Epistles to the Colossians, to the Thessalonians, to Timothy, to Titus and to Philemon.* Columbus: The Lutheran Book Concern, 1937. 974pp.	AC, AuC, CLC, CU, DC, LTS, WC, WTS
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645a.	Lenski, Richard Charles Henry. *Interpretation of St. Paul's I and II Epistles to the Corinthians.* Columbus: The Lutheran Book Concern, 1935. 1341pp. Other editions: 1937, 1946.	AC, AuC, DC, LTS, WC, WTS
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649.	Lenski, Richard Charles Henry. *New Gospel Selections.* Columbus: The Lutheran Book Concern, 1919. 1204pp.	AC, LC, LTS
649a.	Lenski, Richard Charles Henry. *Outstanding Women of the Bible.* Columbus: The Lutheran Book Concern, 1930. 291pp.	
650.	Lenski, Richard Charles Henry. *Saint John.* Columbus: The Lutheran Book Concern, 1928. 194pp.	DC, DaC, WTS
651.	Lenski, Richard Charles Henry. *The Sermon: Its Homilitical Construction.* Columbus: The Lutheran Book Concern, 1927. 314pp.	AC, CU, DC, LTS, WC, WTS
652.	Lentz, Harold H. *Reformation Crossroads.* Minneapolis: Augsburg Publishing House, 1958. 92pp.	AC, AP, DaC, LC, LTS, SOC, WC, WTS
653.	Lerberg, Irwin M. *World Missions of the American Lutheran Church.* Minneapolis: Augsburg Publishing House, [1964]. 64pp.	AP, CLC, LTS, WTS
654.	Lerrigo, Charles H. *The Sea Is His.* Columbus: The [Lutheran] Book Concern, 1933. 74pp.	DC, SOC
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655.	Leupold, Herbert Carl. *Exposition of Daniel.* Columbus: Wartburg Press, 1949. 549pp.	CLC, DC, LC, LTS, WC, WTS
656.	Leupold, Herbert Carl. *Exposition of Ecclesiastes.* Columbus: Wartburg Press, 1952. 304pp.	CLC, CU, DC, LTS, WC, WTS
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658.	Leupold, Herbert Carl. *Exposition of the Psalms.* Columbus: Wartburg Press, 1959. 1010pp.	DC, LTS, WC WTS
659.	Leupold, Herbert Carl. *Exposition of Zachariah.* Columbus: Wartburg Press, 1956. 280pp.	CLC, CU, DaC, DC, LTS, WC, WTS
660.	Lie, Jonas. *Lodsen og Hans Hustru.* Minneapolis: Augsburg Publishing House, 1924. 358pp.	AC, AP, AuC, LC, LTS, SOC
661.	Liefeld, Theodore S. *According to the Scriptures.* Minneapolis: Augsburg Publishing House, 1962. 70pp.	AP, CU, LTS, SOC, WTS

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662.	Liemohn, Edwin T. *The Singing Church.* Columbus: Wartburg Press, 1959. 122pp.	AuC, CLC, CU, LTS, SOC, WC, WTS
663.	Lilje, Hanns. *Atheism, Humanism, and Christianity.* Minneapolis: Augsburg Publishing House, 1964. 78pp.	AP, AuC, CLC, CU, LC, LTS, SOC, WC, WTS
664.	Lilje, Hanns. *Messages from God's Word.* Minneapolis: Augsburg Publishing House, 1961. 200pp.	AP, AuC, LTS, WC, WTS
664a.	[Lillehei, Lars.] *Augsburg Seminary and the Lutheran Free Church.* Minneapolis: [Lutheran Free Church Publishing Concern], 1928. 200pp.	AC, LC, LTS, SOC, WTS
665.	Lillehei, Lars. *Med Leif Erikson paa Vinlandsreise.* Minneapolis: Augsburg Publishing House, 1928. 155pp.	AC, AP, LC, LTS, SOC
665a.	Lillehei, T. August. *Fra Sjaeleness Verden.* Minneapolis: Augsburg Publishing House, [1921]. 95pp.	AC, AP
666.	Lindbeck, George A., ed. *Dialogue On The Way.* Minneapolis: Augsburg Publishing House, 1965. 270pp.	AP, CLC, CU, LC, LTS, SOC, WC, WTS, DaC
667.	Lindblom, Myron. *You That Labor.* Columbus: Wartburg Press, 1944. 77pp.	AC, DC
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669.	Lindemann, Paul. *Conference With God.* Minneapolis: Augsburg Publishing House, 1937. 307pp.	AC, AP, LC, WTS
670.	Lindemann, Paul. *Festival Days.* Minneapolis: Augsburg Publishing House, 1935. 166pp.	AP, LTS, SOC, WTS
671.	*The Little Treasure of Prayers.* Columbus: The Lutheran Book Concern, 1946. 186pp. Another edition: 1954. 270pp.	AC, DC, SOC, WTS
671a.	Livdahl, Albert N. *Passion Week Sermons.* Minneapolis: Augsburg Publishing House, 1937. 72pp.	AP
672a.	Loehe, Wilhelm. *Agende Fuer Christliche Gemeinden des Lutherischen Bekenntnisses.* Chicago: Wartburg Publishing House, 1919. 350pp.	AC, LTS, SOC, WC, WTS
672b.	Loehe, Wilhelm. *Conrad, oder folge mir nach.* Chicago: Wartburg Publishing House, n.d. 88pp.	DC, WTS
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674b. Loehe, Wilhelm. *Seedgrains of Prayer.* Chicago: Wartburg Publishing House, [1912]. 640pp.

674c. Loenning, Per. *Pathways of the Passion.* Minneapolis: Augsburg Publishing House, 1965. 148pp. AP

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676. Long, Harry P. *Childhood Joys.* Columbus: The [Lutheran] Book Concern, n.d. 64pp. DC

677. Long, Harry P. *Feed My Lambs.* Columbus: The [Lutheran] Book Concern, n.d. 64pp. DC

678. Long, Harry P. *Good Friends.* Columbus: The [Lutheran] Book Concern, 1925. 64pp. DC

679. Long, Harry P. *Hand-Work Stories.* Columbus: The [Lutheran] Book Concern, n.d. 61pp. DC

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681. Long, Harry P. *Let Your Light Shine.* Columbus: The [Lutheran] Book Concern, n.d. 64pp. DC

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683. Long, Harry P. *Merry Times.* Columbus: The Lutheran Book Concern, 1925. 64pp.

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686. Long, Harry P. *Sacred Songs.* Columbus: The Lutheran Book Concern, 1925. 100pp.

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688.	Long, Robert W., ed. *Renewing the Congregations.* Minneapolis: Augsburg Publishing House, 1966. ix, 213pp.	AP, CU, LTS, SOC, WC, WTS
690.	Long, Simon Peter. *Prepare to Meet Thy God.* Columbus: The Lutheran Book Concern, 1923. 132pp.	LTS, WTS
693.	Long, Simon Peter. *The Way Made Plain.* Columbus: The Lutheran Book Concern, 1926. 186pp.	CU, LTS, SOC, WTS
694.	Long, Simon Peter. *The Wounded Word.* Columbus: The Lutheran Book Concern, 1920. 87pp.	AC, CU, LTS, SOC, WTS
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697a.	Lorenzen, R. F. *Deutsche Fibel.* Columbus: The [Lutheran] Book Concern, n.d. 96pp.	DC
697b.	Lorenzen, R. F. *Ole und Klaus.* Columbus: The Lutheran Book Concern, n.d. 60pp.	
698.	Lorenzen, R. F. *Strandgut-Gottesgut.* Columbus: The [Lutheran] Book Concern, 1919. 63pp.	DC
699.	Lorenzen, R. F. *Waldemars Kinderjahre.* Columbus: The [Lutheran] Book Concern, 1917. 62pp.	DC
700.	Lose, George William. *Always Happy.* Columbus: The Lutheran Book Concern, 1923. 64pp.	
701.	Lose, George William. *Alwin: The Dreamer.* Columbus: The [Lutheran] Book Concern, n.d. 64pp.	DC
702.	Lose, George William. *Angel of the Swann.* Columbus: The Lutheran Book Concern, 1921. 96pp.	
703.	Lose, George William. *Answered Prayers.* Columbus: The Lutheran Book Concern, 1922. 96pp.	DC
704.	Lose, George William. *Aunt Lydia's Boy.* Columbus: The Lutheran Book Concern, 1921. 64pp.	
705.	Lose, George William. *Be Of Good Cheer.* Columbus: The [Lutheran] Book Concern, n.d.	DC
706.	Lose, George William. *Beside Still Waters.* Columbus: The Lutheran Book Concern, 1925. 90pp.	DC, WTS
707.	Lose, George William. *Blair's Cove.* Columbus: The [Lutheran] Book Concern, 1921. 128pp.	DC
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710.	Lose, George William. *Boy of the Parsonage and His Chum*. Columbus: The [Lutheran] Book Concern, 1918. 95pp.	
710a.	Lose, George William. *Bread Upon the Waters*. Columbus: The [Lutheran] Book Concern, 1925. 135pp.	DC, LTS
711.	Lose, George William. *Come Unto Me*. Columbus: The [Lutheran] Book Concern, n.d.	DC
712.	Lose, George William. *Dienet dem Herrn*. Columbus: The [Lutheran] Book Concern, n.d.	DC
713.	Lose, George William. *Dorcas*. Columbus: The Lutheran Book Concern, 1927. 96pp.	DC
714.	Lose, George William. *Dreamland*. Columbus: The [Lutheran] Book Concern, n.d. 64pp.	DC
715.	Lose, George William. *Eddington Place*. Columbus: The Lutheran Book Concern, 1921. 128pp.	DC
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717.	Lose, George William. *The Evening Hour*. Columbus: The Lutheran Book Concern, 1923. 64pp.	DC
718.	Lose, George William. *Fireside Stories*. Columbus: The [Lutheran] Book Concern, n.d. 64pp.	DC
719.	Lose, George William. *From Darkness to Light*. Columbus: The Lutheran Book Concern, 1927. 222pp. Another edition: 1899. 293pp.	DC, SOC, DaC
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722.	Lose, George William. *Happy Hours*. Columbus: The Lutheran Book Concern, 1922. 64pp.	AC
723.	Lose, George William. *Hvordan Onkel Joel kom paa Skole*. Minneapolis: Augsburg Publishing House, n.d. 64pp.	AC, AP, LC, SOC
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725. Lose, George William. Joy Land. Columbus: The Lutheran Book Concern, 1922. 64pp. DC

726. Lose, George William. Kind-Hearted Rose. Columbus: The [Lutheran] Book Concern, n.d. 96pp. DC

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729. Lose, George William. Lutheran Foreign Missions. Columbus: The Lutheran Book Concern, 1923. 111pp. CU, DC, LC, SOC

730. Lose, George William. Maple Grove. Columbus: The Lutheran Book Concern, 1927.

731. Lose, George William. The Mountaineer's Song. Columbus: The [Lutheran] Book Concern, n.d. 160pp. DC, SOC

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733. Lose, George William. Pastime Series. Columbus: The Lutheran Book Concern, n.d. 2 vols. 64, 64pp. DC

734. Lose, George William. Pictureland. Columbus: The [Lutheran] Book Concern, n.d. 64pp. DC

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736. Lose, George William. Remember Thy Creator. Columbus: The Lutheran Book Concern, 1923. 128pp.

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741. Lose, George William. The Secret of Happiness. Columbus: The Lutheran Book Concern, 1923. DC

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751.	Lose, George William. The Young Patriot and the Table Prayer. Columbus: The [Lutheran] Book Concern, n.d. 192pp.	DC
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755.	Ludvigsen, Helena Gebuhr. All Heart. Blair, Nebraska: Lutheran Publishing House, 1952. 266pp.	CLC, DaC, SOC
755a.	Luethi, Walter. Daniel Speaks to the Church. Minneapolis: Augsburg Publishing House, 1947. 140pp.	AP, LTS, SOC, WC
756.	Lunde, Johan. Light at Eventide. Minneapolis: Augsburg Publishing House, 1967. 176pp.	AP, LTS, WTS
757.	Lunde, Johan and J. A. Aasgaard. Our Father Who Art In Heaven. Minneapolis: Augsburg Publishing House, 1932. 280pp.	AP
757a.	Lunde, Nils Jaspersen. Family Life. Minneapolis: Augsburg Publishing House, 1928. 70pp.	AP
758.	Lunde, N. (Nils J.?) Friendly Counsel. Minneapolis: Augsburg Publishing House, 1927? 59pp.	AC, AP, LTS
759.	Lundeberg, Knut Olafson. The Church of the Living Lord. Minneapolis: Augsburg Publishing House, 1938. 177pp.	AP, LTS, SOC
761.	Lundeberg, Olav K. Enchanted Valley. Minneapolis: Augsburg Publishing House, 1937. 112pp.	AP, AuC, CLC, LC, SOC
762.	Lundeberg, Olav K. Song of Aino. Minneapolis: Augsburg Publishing House, 1941. 160pp.	AP, SOC, DaC
763.	Lundquist, Matthew. Hymnological Studies. Chicago: Wartburg Publishing House, [1926]. 85pp.	AC, CLC, DC, WC, WTS
764.	Lundstrom, Linden J. The Choir School. Minneapolis: Augsburg Publishing House, 1963. 88pp. Another edition: 1957. 84pp.	AC, AP, AuC, LTS, SOC, WC
765.	Luther, Martin. Luther's Katekismus, med en Kort forklaring. Blair, Nebraska: Danish Lutheran Publishing House, 1919. 73pp.	DaC
766.	Luther, Martin. Luther's Large Catechism. Minneapolis: Augsburg Publishing House, 1935. 35-188pp.	AC, AP, CU, LTS, SOC, WTS
767.	Luther, Martin. Luther's lille Katekismus. (Graded system.) Minneapolis: Augsburg Publishing House, 1918. 93pp. Another edition: Decorah, Iowa. Lutheran Publishing House, 1917. 93pp.	AP, SOC

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770. Luther, Martin. Luther's Small Catechism. (Graded system.) Minneapolis: Augsburg Publishing House, 1918. 36pp. AP, DC, LTS, SOC

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771a. Luther, Martin. Luther's Small Catechism with Balslev's Explanation. Translated by P. S. Vig and A. S. Nielsen. Second edition: Blair, Nebraska: Danish Lutheran Publishing House, 1945. 148pp. DaC

771b. Luther, Martin. Luther's Catechism with Brief Explanation. Blair, Nebraska: Danish Lutheran Publishing House, 1935. 74pp. DaC

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773. Lutheran Book Concern. Catalog of Lutheran Book Concern, 1924. Columbus: The Lutheran Book Concern, 1924. 304pp. AP

773b. Luther Theological Seminary. Forenede Kirkes Seminar, 1890-1917. Minneapolis: Augsburg Publishing House, 1917. 104pp. AP

774a. Lutheran Free Church. Lutheran Free Church Handbook. Minneapolis: The Lutheran Free Church Publishing House, 1928. 69pp. AC, SOC

774b. Lutheran Free Church. Den Lutherske Frikirkes Missionsopgaver. Minneapolis: Indremissionskomiteen og Hedningemissionskomiteen, 1917. 95pp. AC

774c. Lutheran Free Church. Ministerial Acts. Minneapolis: The Messenger Press, n.d. 80pp. AC

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774d.	Lutheran Free Church. Missionary Album. Minneapolis: The Lutheran Board of Missions, Augsburg Seminary, 1926. 64pp.	AC
774e.	Lutheran Free Church. Women's Missionary Federation. Give Me A Light: Program Helps for 1945. Minneapolis: Lutheran Free Church Publishing Company, 1945. 62pp.	AC
774f.	Lutheran Free Church. Women's Missionary Federation. Heritage: Program Helps for 1942. Minneapolis: Lutheran Free Church Publishing Company, 1942. 64pp.	AC
775.	The Lutheran Hymnary. Minneapolis: Augsburg Publishing House, 1918, c1913. 99, 679pp.	AC, AP, LC, LTS, SOC, WTS
775a.	The Lutheran Hymnary, Junior. Minneapolis: Augsburg Publishing House, 1926, c1916. 231pp.	LTS
776.	Lutheran Hymns. Chicago: Wartburg Publishing House, 1918. 131pp.	AC, SOC
777.	Lutheran World Convention. Lutheran Churches of the World. Minneapolis: Augsburg Publishing House, 1929. 432pp.	AP, AuC, CLC, LC, LTS, WC
778.	Lutheran World Federation. Lutheran Churches of the World. Minneapolis: Augsburg Publishing House, 1957. 333pp.	AC, AP, LTS, SOC, WC
779.	Lutheran World Federation. Messages of the Third Assembly. Minneapolis: Augsburg Publishing House, 1957. 128pp.	AP, CLC, LTS, WC, WTS
779a.	Lutheran World Federation. Messages of the Helsinki Assembly. Minneapolis: Augsburg Publishing House, 1963. 122pp.	AC, AP, LTS, WTS
780.	Lutnes, Robert W. Ever One God. Minneapolis: Augsburg Publishing House, 1955. 365pp.	AP, AuC, CLC, LC, LTS, SOC, WC
781.	Lutz, Fr. Choralbuch. Columbus: Wartburg Press, n.d. Other editions: Chicago: Wartburg Publishing House, 1902. Columbus: Wartburg Press, 1924.	SOC, WC, WTS
782.	Lutz, Fr. Hand-Agende fuer Evangelische Lutherische Pastoren Americas. Waverly, Iowa: Wartburg Publishing House, 1888. 97pp. Another edition: 1916. 323pp.	LTS
783.	Lysnes, Olaf. Better Readings. Minneapolis: Augsburg Publishing House, 1927. 298pp.	AP, SOC

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784.	Lysnes, Olaf. Readings for Live Programs. Minneapolis: Augsburg Publishing House, 1937. 238pp.	AP, LC, SOC
785.	Lysnes, Olaf. Select Readings and Recitations. Minneapolis: Augsburg Publishing House, 1920. 330pp.	AC, AP, LC, SOC
786.	Maahs, Arnold M. Our Eyes Were Opened. Columbus: The Wartburg Press, 1946. 110pp.	DC, LC, LTS, SOC, WC, WTS
787.	MacDonald, George. Diary of an Old Soul. Minneapolis: Augsburg Publishing House, 1965. 132pp.	AP, CLC, CU, LTS
787a.	McBinney, Allegra. A Compass for Prayer. Columbus: Wartburg Press, 1955. 72pp.	DC
787b.	McCartney, Sedoris Nelson. There Is A Lad Here. Minneapolis: Augsburg Publishing House, 1955. 147pp.	AC, AP, CLC, LTS, SOC
787c.	McKirachan, J. Charles. Older Than Eden. Minneapolis: Augsburg Publishing House, [1966]. 168pp.	AP, LTS, WTS
788.	Madsen, N. P. The Dragoon. Blair, Nebraska: Danish Lutheran Publishing House, 1918. 79pp.	
789.	Mahr, August C. Relations of Passion Plays to St. Ephrem the Syrian. Columbus: Wartburg Press, 1942. 34pp.	AC
790.	Malantschuk, Gregor. Kierkegaard's Way To The Truth. Minneapolis: Augsburg Publishing House, [1963]. 126pp.	AP, CU, LC, LTS, SOC, WC, WTS
792.	Malmin, Gunnar. Songs and Hymns for Children's Voices. Minneapolis: Augsburg Publishing House, 1928. Unpaged.	LTS
792b.	Malmin, Gunnar and Dorothy Malmin. Songs and Anthems for Treble Voices. Minneapolis: Augsburg Publishing House, 1939. 51pp.	AP
793b.	Malmin, Gunnar and Dorothy Malmin. Songs of Devotion. Minneapolis: Augsburg Publishing House, 1950. 53pp.	AP
793c.	Malmin, Gunnar. Thy Praises Sing. Minneapolis: Augsburg Publishing House, 1956. 43pp.	AP
793d.	Malmin, Olaf and Fernanda Malmin. God's Chosen People. Minneapolis: Augsburg Publishing House, 1939. 138pp.	AC, AP

794.	Malmin, Rasmus. *Dr. Johan Nathan Kildahl, en Mindebok.* Minneapolis: Augsburg Publishing House, 1921. 347pp.	AC, AP, LC, LTS, SOC
796.	Malmin, Rasmus, O. M. Norlie and O. A. Tingelstad. *Who's Who Among the Pastors.* Minneapolis: Augsburg Publishing House, 1928. 662pp.	AC, AP, DaC, LC, LTS, SOC, WC
797.	Marchwuerth, H. *Konrad und Samuel.* Columbus: The [Lutheran] Book Concern, n.d. 48pp.	DC
798.	Marchwuerth, H. *Liebt einander.* Columbus: The [Lutheran] Book Concern, n.d. 48pp.	DC
799.	Marden, Richard. *The Monk and the Dwarf.* Columbus: The Lutheran Book Concern, n.d. 96pp.	
800.	Marsh, Olive Vincent. *The Galloping Horses.* Columbus: Wartburg Press, 1942. 95pp.	AC, DC
801.	Marsh, Olive Vincent. *Shirley Arthur--American.* Columbus: The Wartburg Press, n.d. 128pp.	DC
802.	Marsh, Olive Vincent. *Southern Highland Summer.* Columbus: Wartburg Press, 1945. 95pp.	AC, DC
803.	Martin, Greta. *The Begging Student.* Columbus: Wartburg Press, 1947. 173pp.	AC, DC
803a.	Martinson, Harold. *Red Dragon Over China.* Minneapolis: Augsburg Publishing House, 1956. 328pp.	AP, AuC, LC, LTS, SOC, WTS
804.	Mason, Caroline Atwater. *A Titled Maiden.* Columbus: The Lutheran Book Concern, 1922. 447pp.	CU, DC
804a.	Mattson, Johan. *Hvad Jesus siger om Boennen.* Minneapolis: Free Church Publishing Concern, 1917. 32pp.	AC, LC, LTS, SOC
805.	Matzner, Emil W. *To Live Is Christ.* Columbus: The Lutheran Book Concern, 1940. 430pp.	WTS
809.	Mees, Otto. *Refuge and Strength.* Columbus: The Lutheran Book Concern, 1926. 206pp.	AC, CU, DC, LTS
810.	Mees, Otto. *Weep Not.* Columbus: The Lutheran Book Concern, 1927. 320pp.	
811.	Meinhold, Peter. *Caesar's or God's?* Minneapolis: Augsburg Publishing House, 1962. 170pp.	AP, AuC, CLC, CU, LC, LTS, WC, WTS
811a.	Melanchton, Philipp. *Selected Writings.* Minneapolis: Augsburg Publishing House, [1962]. 190pp.	AP

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812.	Melby, Gustav. *Blue Haze.* Minneapolis: Augsburg Publishing House, 1925. 221pp.	AC, AP, LC, SOC
813.	Melcher, H. J. *Ebenezer.* Columbus: The [Lutheran] Book Concern, n.d. 63pp.	DC
814a.	Mero, Lee. *Christmas Alphabet.* Minneapolis: Augsburg Publishing House, 1958. [48pp.]	LC, LTS
814b.	Mero, Lee. *Life of Jesus in Pictures.* Minneapolis: Augsburg Publishing House, 1945. 112pp.	AP
815.	*Messages of the Helsinki Assembly.* Minneapolis: Augsburg Publishing House, [1963]. 122pp	AC, AP, CU, LC, LTS, WTS, DaC
816.	Meuser, Fred W. *The Formation of the American Lutheran Church.* Columbus: Wartburg Press, 1958. 327pp.	CU, LC, LTS, WTS, DaC
817.	Meyer, John E., ed. *Our Hearts Rejoice.* Columbus: Wartburg Press, 1955. 175pp.	DC, WTS
818.	Mgebroff, J. *Erlebnisse eines Wandervogels.* Chicago: Wartburg Publishing House, 1920. 61pp.	
819a.	Michelfelder, Sylvester Clarence. *Life Adjustments.* Columbus: Wartburg Press, 1940. 80pp.	CLC, DC, WTS
820.	Michelfelder, Sylvester Clarence. *So You Are Thinking!* Columbus: Wartburg Press, 1946. 83pp.	CLC, DC, WTS
821.	Mierop, William. *Ashki, The Navaho Schoolboy.* Columbus: The Lutheran Book Concern, 1927. 126pp.	DC
822.	Miller, Matthew. *The Little Patriot of Valley Forge.* Columbus: The [Lutheran] Book Concern, n.d. 126pp.	DC
823.	Milligan, Blanche Margaret. *At Camp in Old Virginia.* Columbus: The Lutheran Book Concern, n.d. 95pp.	DC
824.	Milligan, Blanche Margaret. *A Christmas Surprise.* Columbus: The [Lutheran] Book Concern, n.d. 123pp.	DC
825.	Milligan, Blanche Margaret. *Gertrude and Virginia.* Columbus: The [Lutheran] Book Concern, n.d. 91pp.	DC
827.	Milligan, Blanche Margaret. *The Helpful Dozen.* Columbus: The Lutheran Book Concern, n.d. 92pp.	DC
828.	Milligan, Blanche Margaret. *The Lost Twins.* Columbus: The Lutheran Book Concern, n.d. 95pp.	DC
829.	Milligan, Blanche Margaret. *Mystery Isle Island.* Columbus: The Lutheran Book Concern, n.d. 91pp.	DC

830.	Milligan, Blanche Margaret. The School In The Valley. Columbus: The Lutheran Book Concern, n.d.	
832.	Milligan, Blanche Margaret. Victories In The Wildwood. Columbus: The Lutheran Book Concern, n.d. 96pp.	DC
833.	Milton, John P. Preaching from Isaiah. Minneapolis: Augsburg Publishing House, 1953. 187pp.	AP, CLC, LTS, SOC, WTS
834.	Milton, John P. Prophecy Interpr . Minneapolis: Augsburg Publishing House, 1960.	AP, CLC, LC, LTS, SOC, WC, WTS
835.	Minear, Paul S., ed. Faith and Order Findings. Minneapolis: Augsburg Publishing House, [1963]. 31, 62, 63, 64pp.	AP, CLC, CU, LC, LTS, WTS
837.	Dem Ministerium. Chicago: Wartburg Publishing House, 1924. 56pp.	
838.	The Minister's Manual. Columbus: Wartburg Press, 1940. 162pp. Another edition: New York: Harper, 1945. 317pp.	AC, CLC, DC
840.	Moe, Olaf Edward. Apostle Paul, His Life and His Work. Minneapolis: Augsburg Publishing House, 1950. 577pp.	AC, AP, AuC, CLC, DaC, LC, LTS, SOC, WTS
841.	Moe, Olaf Edward. Apostle Paul, His Message and Doctrine. Minneapolis: Augsburg Publishing House, 1954. 489pp.	AC, AP, AuC, CLC, LTS, SOC
841a.	Moerstad, E. O. Elling eielsen og den "Evangelisk-Lutherske Kirke" i Amerika. Minneapolis: Folkebladets Trykkeri, 1917. 474pp.	AC, SOC
842.	Molland, Einar. Church Life in Norway, 1800-1950. Minneapolis: Augsburg Publishing House, 1957. 120pp.	AC, AP, AuC, LC, LTS, SOC, WC, WTS, DaC
843.	Monson, I. G. The Difference. Minneapolis: Augsburg Publishing House, 1928. 116pp.	AP, LC, LTS, SOC
844.	Monson, I. G. Sabbath--Sunday. Minneapolis: Augsburg Publishing House, 1928. 48pp.	AP, LC, LTS, SOC
845.	Mueller, E. W. and Giles Ekola. The Silent Struggle for Mid-America. Minneapolis: Augsburg Publishing House, [1963]. 167pp.	AP, AuC, CLC, LC, LTS, SOC, WC, WTS
846.	Mueller, John Theodore. All For Jesus. Columbus: The [Lutheran] Book Concern, n.d. 96pp.	DC
847.	Mueller, John Theodore. Boys and Girls Who Became Great Missionaries. Columbus: The Lutheran Book Concern, n.d. 158pp.	DC, WC

848. Mueller, John Theodore. *Confessing the Gospel.* Columbus: The Lutheran Book Concern, 1930. 30pp.

849. Mueller, John Theodore. *Great Heroes of the Faith.* Columbus: The [Lutheran] Book Concern, 1929. 229pp. DC, LTS

850. Mueller, John Theodore. *Heroes of the Black Hills.* Columbus: The [Lutheran] Book Concern, n.d. 95pp. DC

851. Mueller, John Theodore. *In Dixieland.* Columbus: The [Lutheran] Book Concern, n.d. 126pp. DC

852. Mueller, John Theodore. *A Merry Christmas Party.* Columbus: The [Lutheran] Book Concern, [1930]. 95pp. DC

853. Mueller, John Theodore. *Poor Boys Who Enriched the World.* Columbus: The [Lutheran] Book Concern, 1927. 126pp. DC

854. Mueller, John Theodore. *Three Young Pioneers.* Columbus: The [Lutheran] Book Concern, [1930]. 94pp. DC

855. Mueller, John Theodore. *Trader's Landing.* Columbus: The [Lutheran] Book Concern, n.d. 96pp. DC

856. Mueller, John Theodore. *The Treasure of Piney Cave.* Columbus: The [Lutheran] Book Concern, n.d. 96pp. AC, DC

857. Mueller, John Theodore and Wilfred Bockelman. *Early Missionary Endeavors Among the American Indians.* Columbus: Wartburg Press, 1942. 122pp. DC

858. Myers, Galene J. *Puppets Can Teach Too.* Minneapolis: Augsburg Publishing House, [1966]. 64pp. LTS, WC, WTS

859. National Lutheran Commission for Soldier's and Sailor's Welfare. *Army and Navy Service Book.* Minneapolis: Augsburg Publishing House, 1917. 108pp. AC, AP, AuC, DaC, LTS

860. Nelson, Byron C. *After Its Kind.* Minneapolis: Augsburg Publishing House, 1927. 144pp. Revised edition: 1952. 208pp. AC, AP, AuC, CLC, CU, LC, LTS, SOC, WC, WTS

862. Nelson, Byron C. *Before Abraham.* Minneapolis: Augsburg Publishing House, 1948. 121pp. AP, AuC, CU, LC, LTS, SOC, WC, WTS

863. Nelson, Byron C. *Deluge Story In Stone.* Minneapolis: Augsburg Publishing House, 1931. 190pp. AC, AP, AuC, CLC, CU, LC, LTS, SOC, WC, WTS

864.	Nelson, Byron C. *On The Way to Emmaus.* Minneapolis: Augsburg Publishing House, 1937. 82pp.	AP, SOC
865.	Nelson, Daniel. *Apostle To The Chinese Communists.* Minneapolis: Augsburg Publishing House, 1935. 139pp.	AC, AP, CU, LC, LTS, SOC, WC
865a.	Nelson, Daniel. *English-Chinese Romanized Dictionary.* Minneapolis: Augsburg Publishing House, 1944. 344pp.	AP
866.	Nelson, Daniel. *Journey to Chungking.* Minneapolis: Augsburg Publishing House, 1945. 154pp.	AC, AP, LC, LTS, SOC, WTS
866a.	Nelson, Eugene Clifford, ed. *Scandinavian Churches.* Minneapolis: Augsburg Publishing House, 1965. 200pp.	AC, AP, CLC, CU, LC, LTS, SOC, WC, WTS, DaC
867.	Nelson, Eugene Clifford and Eugene L. Fevold. *The Lutheran Church Among Norwegian-Americans.* Minneapolis: Augsburg Publishing House, 1960. 2 vols.	AC, AP, AuC, CLC, LC, LTS, SOC, WC, WTS
868.	Nelson, Eugene Clifford. *This Is Life Eternal.* Minneapolis: Augsburg Publishing House, 1949. 140pp.	AP, LTS, SOC, WTS
869.	Nelson, Frank. *Ideas and Ideals.* Minneapolis: Augsburg Publishing House, 1931. 128pp.	AP, SOC
870.	Nelson, Mary Lee. *Daniel Nelson, His Life and Work.* Minneapolis: Augsburg Publishing House, 1933. 165pp.	AC, AP, CLC, SOC, WTS
871.	Nelson, Ruth Youngdahl. *Where Jesus Walks.* Minneapolis: Augsburg Publishing House, [1966]. 144pp.	AP, CU
871a.	Nervig, Casper B. *Christian Truth and Religious Delusions.* Minneapolis: Augsburg Publishing House, 1941. 170pp.	AC, AP
872.	Nesper, Paul W. *Biblical Texts.* Columbus: Wartburg Press, 1952. 442pp.	AC, DC, WTS
873.	Nesper, Paul W. *Biblical Texts for Special Occasions.* Columbus: The Lutheran Book Concern, 1923. 327pp. Revised edition: Columbus: Wartburg Press, 1925. 402pp.	AC, CU, DC, DaC, LTS, SOC,
876.	Nesper, Paul W. *Vacation Adventures.* Columbus: The [Lutheran] Book Concern, 1925. 96pp.	DC
877.	Neumann, G. J. *A Book of Prayers for Boys and Girls.* Columbus: The Lutheran Book Concern, 1939. 192pp.	DC, WTS
878.	Neumann, G. J. *A Book of Prayers for Boys and Girls.* Columbus: Wartburg Press, 1957. 192pp.	AC, WC

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880.	Neumann, G. J. *The Door That Walked Away*. Columbus: Wartburg Press, 1957. 96pp.	AC, DC, WC, WTS
881.	Neumann, G. J. *Golden ABC for God's Little Ones*. Columbus: Wartburg Press, 1957. 28pp.	WC
882.	Neumann, G. J. *The Star and The Stall*. Columbus: Wartburg Press, 1955. 159pp.	AC, DC
883.	Neumann, G. J. *The Wonder of Long Ago*. Columbus: Wartburg Press, 1957. 159pp.	AC, DC, WC
884.	Neve, J. L. *A Guide to the Augsburg Confession*. Columbus: The Lutheran Book Concern, 1927. 266pp.	DC, LTS, WC, WTS
885.	Neve, J. L. *Introduction to the Symbolical Books of the Lutheran Church*. Columbus: The Lutheran Book Concern, 1926. 454pp. Revised edition: 1956.	AC, AuC, CLC, CU, DC, LTS, SOC, WC, WTS
886.	Nilsen, Frida. *Eyes of Understanding*. Minneapolis: Augsburg Publishing House, 1948. 136pp.	AC, AP, CLC, DaC, SOC
887.	Nilsen, Ole. *Dalrosen, fra virkelighetens ver den paa Begge Sider av Havet*. Minneapolis: Augsburg Publishing House, 1949. 140pp.	AP, SOC
888.	Nilsen, Ole. *Luther's Life for Children and Young People*. Minneapolis: Augsburg Publishing House, 1928. 90pp.	AP, LC, DaC, SOC, WC, WTS
891.	Norborg, Sverre. *God-Controlled Lives*. Minneapolis: Augsburg Publishing House, 1937. 150pp.	AC, AP, DaC, LC, LTS, SOC, WTS
892.	Norborg, Sverre. *Strangers on the Earth*. Minneapolis: Augsburg Publishing House, 1938. 152pp.	AP, CU, DaC, LC, SOC, WC, WTS
893.	Norborg, Sverre. *Varieties of Christian Experience*. Minneapolis: Augsburg Publishing House, 1937. 289pp.	AC, AP, AuC, CLC, DaC, LC, LTS, WC, WTS
894.	Norborg, Sverre. *What is Christianity*? Minneapolis: Augsburg Publishing House, 1936. 136pp.	AC, AP, AuC, CLC, DaC, LC, LTS, SOC, WTS
896.	Nordberg, C. E. *Indremissionspresten i Storbyen*. Minneapolis: Home Missions of the Lutheran Free Church, 1923. 108pp.	AC
897.	Norem, Harlan. *I Believe in..the Communion of Teen-age Saints*. Minneapolis: Augsburg Publishing House, 1966. 64pp.	AP

898.	Norlie, Olaf Morgan. *The Academy for Princes.* Minneapolis: Augsburg Publishing House, 1917. 240pp.	AP, DaC, LC, LTS, SOC
898a.	Norlie, Olaf Morgan. *The Bible in a Thousand Tongues.* Minneapolis: Augsburg Publishing House, 1935. 133pp.	AC, AP
898b.	Norlie, Olaf Morgan, ed. *Cumulative Catalog of Lutheran Books in the English Language.* Minneapolis: Augsburg Publishing House, 1924. 128pp.	
899.	Norlie, Olaf Morgan. *An Elementary Christian Psychology.* Minneapolis: Augsburg Publishing House, 1924. 270pp.	AC, AP, AuC, CLC, LC, LTS, SOC, WC, WTS
900.	Norlie, Olaf Morgan. *History of the Norwegian People in America.* Minneapolis: Augsburg Publishing House, 1925. 602pp. Supplement: 1926. 515-602pp.	AC, AP, AuC, CLC, CU, DaC, LC, LTS, SOC, WC, WTS
901.	Norlie, Olaf Morgan and others. *Luther College Through Sixty Years.* Minneapolis: Augsburg Publishing House, 1922. 512pp.	AP, CLC, DaC, LC, LTS, WC
902.	Norlie, Olaf Morgan and George L. Kieffer. *The Lutheran World Almanac and Annual Encyclopedia.* Chicago: Wartburg Publishing House, Vol. I, 1921. 986pp., Vol. II, 1922. 384pp., Vol. III, 1923. 293pp., Vol. IV, 1925. 287pp., Vol. V, 1927. 288pp., Vol. VI, 1930. 416pp., Vol. VII, 1932. 424pp., Vol. VIII, 1937. 384pp.	AC, DaC, LC, LTS, SOC
903.	Norlie, Olaf Morgan. *Norsk Lutherske Menigheter i Amerika 1843-1916.* Minneapolis: Augsburg Publishing House, 1918. Vol. I, 1086pp., Vol. II, 1124pp.	AC, AP, AuC, CLC, LC, LTS, SOC
904.	Norlie, Olaf Morgan. *Olaf Glasoe's Omsorg for Sine.* Minneapolis: Augsburg Publishing House, 1921. 604pp.	AP
905.	Norlie, Olaf Morgan. *The Open Bible.* Minneapolis: Augsburg Publishing House, 1918. 693pp.	AP, AuC, LC, LTS, SOC, WC, WTS
906.	Norlie, Olaf Morgan. *School Calendar 1824-1924.* Minneapolis: Augsburg Publishing House, 1924. 800pp.	AP, AuC, CLC, DaC, LC, LTS, SOC, WTS
906a.	*Norse-American Centennial of Illinois 1825-1925.* Minneapolis: Augsburg Publishing House, 1925. 60pp.	AC, AP
907.	Norstog, Jon. *Tone: Fortaljing.* Minneapolis: Augsburg Publishing House, 1920. 261pp.	AP, CLC, LC, LTS, SOC

909.	Norton, Alice Whitson. *Cheery Mary*. Columbus: Wartburg Press, 1944. 94pp.	DC
910.	Norton, Alice Whitson. *On The Other Side of Baldy*. Columbus: Wartburg Press, 1945. 96pp.	DC
910a.	Norwegian Lutheran Church of America. *Abridgment of the Ministerial Acts of the Norwegian Lutheran Church*. Minneapolis: Augsburg Publishing House, n.d. 52pp.	AP
910b.	Norwegian Lutheran Church of America. *Altar Book With Scripture Lessons and Collects*. Minneapolis: Augsburg Publishing House, 1929. 468pp.	AP
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911c.	Norwegian Lutheran Church of America. *Possessing the Land*. Minneapolis: Faith in Action Movement, 1940. 52pp.	AC
912.	Norwegian Lutheran Church of America. *Udtog af Alterbog for den Norske Kirke*. Minneapolis: Augsburg Publishing House, n.d. 53pp.	
913.	Norwegian Lutheran Church of America. *White Unto Harvest: A Survey of Lutheran United Mission*. Minneapolis: Board of Foreign Missions, 1934. 279pp.	AC, AP, LTS, SOC
913b.	Norwegian Lutheran Church of America. Board of Pension. *Pension Fund Manual, 1925*. Minneapolis: Augsburg Publishing House, 1925. 58pp.	AP
913c.	Norwegian Lutheran Church of America. Board of Pensions. *Pension Plan for Ministers and Other Church Workers of N.L.C.A.* Minneapolis: Augsburg Publishing House, 1940. 56pp.	AP
913d.	Norwegian Lutheran Church of America. Board of Trustees. *Our Church At Work*. Minneapolis: Augsburg Publishing House, 1932-35. 2 vols.	AC, AP, CLC, DaC, LC, LTS, SOC
913e.	Nybroten, Anton A. *Fra en Norgestur i 1919*. Minneapolis: Folkebladet Publishing Company, 1922. 159pp.	LC, SOC
914.	*Occasional Services from the Service Book and Hymnal Together With Additional Orders and Offices*. Minneapolis : Augsburg Publishing House, 1962. 215pp.	LTS

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915.	Oeiestad, Per Christian. *My First Bible Book.* Minneapolis: Augsburg Publishing House, 1966. [64pp.]	AP
916.	Ofstedal, Rudolf A. *Ten Studies in God's Plan in Prophecy.* Minneapolis: Augsburg Publishing House, 1942. 115pp.	AP
917.	*Old Primary Bible Narratives.* Columbus: The Lutheran Book Concern, 1923. 100pp.	DC
918.	Olsen, Peder. *Healing Through Prayer.* Minneapolis: Augsburg Publishing House, 1962. 158pp.	AC, AP, CU, LTS, WTS
919.	Olsen, Peder. *Pastoral Care and Psychotherapy.* Minneapolis: Augsburg Publishing House, [1961]. 144pp.	AC, AP, CLC, DaC, LTS, WC, WTS
920.	Olson, Arthur S. *Christ or Satan.* Minneapolis: Lutheran Board of Missions, 1931. 31pp.	AC
920a.	Olson, Enid Martell. *Poems of Faith for the Christian Year.* Minneapolis: Augsburg Publishing House, [1959]. 102pp.	AP, LTS
921.	Olson, Iver. *Baptism and Spiritual Life.* Minneapolis: Messenger Press, n.d. 86pp.	AC, LTS
921a.	Olson, Oscar L. *Literary Treasures of the Bible.* Minneapolis: Augsburg Publishing House, 1937. 56pp.	LC, LTS, SOC, WC
921b.	Olson, Raymond M. *Child in Your Midst: Ten Studies in Understanding Children.* Minneapolis: Augsburg Publishing House, 1948. 88pp.	AP
921c.	Olson, Raymond M. *Stewards Appointed.* Minneapolis: Augsburg Publishing House, 1958. 141pp.	AP
921d.	Olson, Ruth L., ed. *Hymns and Songs for Church Schools.* Minneapolis: Augsburg Publishing House, 1962. Unpaged.	AP
922.	Olsson, Karl A. *Things Common and Preferred.* Minneapolis: Augsburg Publishing House, 1959. 192pp.	AC, AP, LC, LTS
924.	Ordal, Z. J. *The Resurrection of Jesus, An Historical Fact.* Minneapolis: Augsburg Publishing House, 1923. 128pp.	AC, AP, AuC, LC, LTS, SOC
924a.	*Organist's Edition of the Liturgy: Order for Worship as Presented in the Service Book and Hymnal.* Minneapolis: Augsburg Publishing House, 1963. 97pp.	AP

925.	Ottersen, Ottar. *Those Most Important Years.* Minneapolis: Augsburg Publishing House, [1966]. 170pp.	AP, CU, WTS
925a.	Otterstad, Robert L. *They Came to a Place: Meditations on Human Suffering.* Minneapolis: Augsburg Publishing House, [1962]. 47pp.	AP
926.	Otto, K. S. *Lobsinget dem Herrn.* Columbus: Wartburg Press, 1917. 175pp.	DC, WTS
927.	Overby, Oscar R. *Songs and Poems.* Minneapolis: Augsburg Publishing House, 1946. 90pp.	AP, SOC, WTS
928.	Parkinson, Ernest A. *In Green Pastures.* Columbus: The [Lutheran] Book Concern, n.d. 64pp.	DC
929.	Parkinson, Ernest A. *My Brother's Keeper.* Columbus: The [Lutheran] Book Concern, n.d. 64pp.	DC
929a.	Pasquet, Jean. *Chorale Anthems Based on Chorale Preludes.* Minneapolis: Augsburg Publishing House, 1961. 51pp.	AP
930.	*Die Passion unseres Herrn und heilandes Jesu Christi.* Columbus: Wartburg Press, n.d. 64pp.	WTS
931.	Patten, Clara. *The Log House in the Woods.* Columbus: Wartburg Press, 1947. 88pp.	DC
931a.	Paulson, Eric Edwin. *Thunder in the Wilderness.* Minneapolis: Augsburg Publishing House, 1965. 283pp.	AC, AP
932.	Pederson, Mathias Andreas. *Fra Santalistan og Jorden Rundt.* Minneapolis: Augsburg Publishing House, 1925. 339pp.	AC, AP, LC, LTS, SOC
933.	Pederson, Pernie C. *Mission in South Africa.* Minneapolis: Augsburg Publishing House, 1957. 48pp.	AP, LC, LTS, SOC, WTS
934.	Peter, P. A. *A Miracle Among Men.* Columbus: The Lutheran Book Concern, 1923.	
935.	Peter, P. A. *St. Paul, The Great Apostle to the Gentiles.* Columbus: The Lutheran Book Concern, 1923. 280pp.	DC, LTS, WC
936.	Peterson, James A. *Solstad: The Old and the New.* Minneapolis: Augsburg Publishing House, 1923. 344pp.	AC, AP, LC, LTS, SOC
937.	Peterson, Justin A. *Secret Societies.* Minneapolis: Augsburg Publishing House, 1924.	AP, LTS

938.	Peterson, Stella. *Fun at the South Pole.* Columbus: Wartburg Press, n.d. 96pp.	DC
939.	Pettersen, P. G. *Hosianna.* Minneapolis: Augsburg Publishing House, 1917. 104pp.	AP, LTS
939a.	Pettersen, Wilhelm Mauritz. *The Light in the Prison Window: The Life Story of Hans Nielsen Hauge.* Minneapolis: Augsburg Publishing House, 1926. 188pp.	AP
940.	Pettersen, Wilhelm Mauritz. *Naar Juleklokkene Ringer; Digte.* Minneapolis: Augsburg Publishing House, 1922. 237pp.	AC, AP, LC, LTS, SOC
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950.	Pflueger, Charles W. *Sowing and Reaping.* Columbus: The Lutheran Book Concern, 1921. 92pp.	DC
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952.	Pilger, Adolf. *Die Stube des Vertrauens und andere Geschichten aus Deutsch-America.* Chicago: Wartburg Publishing House, 1929. 236pp.	

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957.	Polack, W. G. *The Rainbow Over Calvary.* Minneapolis: Augsburg Publishing House, 1943. 82pp.	AP
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959.	Polack, W. G. *These Made Good.* Columbus: The [Lutheran] Book Concern, n.d. 125pp.	DC
960.	Polack, W. G. *What Children Should Know About God.* Columbus: The [Lutheran] Book Concern, n.d. 64pp.	DC
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973.	Prestgard, Kristian. *Streiftog.* Minneapolis: Augsburg Publishing House, 1937. 171pp.	AC, AP, LC, LTS, SOC
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1011.	Reu, Johann Michael. *Can We Still Hold to the Lutheran Doctrine of the Lord's Supper?* Columbus: Wartburg Press, 1941. 88pp.	DC
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1014.	Reu, Johann Michael. *Christian Faith and Life.* Columbus: Published by Samuel F. Salzmann with permission of the Wartburg Press, 1953. 129pp.	WTS
1015.	Reu, Johann Michael. *Christliche Ethik in kurzer Skizzierung.* Dubuque: Wartburg Theological Seminary, 1914. 146pp.	AC, DC, LTS, WTS
1016.	Reu, Johann Michael. *The Church and the Social Problem.* Columbus: The Lutheran Book Concern, 1936. 46pp.	AC, LC, LTS, SOC, WC, WTS
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1018b.	Reu, Johann Michael. *Dr. Martin Luther's Leben fuer die reifere Jugend und das Christliche Haus.* Chicago: Wartburg Publishing House, 1917. 283pp.	AC, LTS, WTS
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1036.	Reu, Johann Michael. *Lutheran Faith and Life*. Columbus: The Lutheran Book Concern, 1935. 160pp.	DC, LTS, WC WTS
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1062a.	Riedel, Johannes. The Lutheran Chorale: Its Basic Traditions. Minneapolis: Augsburg Publishing House, [1967]. 120pp.	AP
1063.	Rieke, Marcus and Gordon Huffman. From Plight to Power. Columbus: Wartburg Press, 1951. 139pp.	AC, CU, DaC, DC, LC, LTS, WC, WTS
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1066.	Ristad, D. G. Fra det Norske Amerika Kvad. Minneapolis: Augsburg Publishing House, 1930. 90pp.	AC, AP, LTS, SOC
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1068.	Roan, Carl M. Sygdom, Sundhet og Velvaere. Minneapolis: Augsburg Publishing House, 1924. 347pp.	AC, AP, LC, SOC
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1070.	Roberts, Mary E. Treasure of Lone Pine. Columbus: Wartburg Press, 1943. 95pp.	DC
1070a.	Roddis, Louis H. The Norsemen in the New World. Minneapolis: Augsburg Publishing House, 1923. 70pp.	AC, AP
1070b.	Roedvik, Johan. Legems og Hustankerne hos Paulus. Minneapolis: The Lutheran Free Church Publishing House, n.d. 82pp.	AC
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1075.	Rolfsrud, Erling Nicolai. *Borrowed Sister, The Story of Elisabeth Fedde*. Minneapolis: Augsburg Publishing House, 1953. 118pp.	AP, SOC, LTS
1075a.	Rolfsrud, Erling N. *Boy From Johnny Butte*. Minneapolis: Augsburg Publishing House, 1956. 122pp.	AP, AuC, LTS
1076.	Rolfsrud, Erling Nicolai. *Family on Maple Street*. Minneapolis: Augsburg Publishing House, 1958. 107pp.	AP, LC, LTS
1077.	Rolfsrud, Erling Nicolai. *Gopher Tails for Papa*. Minneapolis: Augsburg Publishing House, 1951. 86pp.	AP, DaC, LC, LTS
1078.	Rolfsrud, Erling Nicolai. *Happy Acres*. Minneapolis: Augsburg Publishing House, 1956. 167pp.	AP, LTS, SOC, WTS
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1080.	Rolvaag, Ole Edvart. *Deklamationsboken*. Minneapolis: Augsburg Publishing House, 1918. 302pp.	AC, AP, AuC, LC, LTS, SOC, WC
1081.	Rolvaag, Ole Edvart. *Fortaellinger og Skildringer*. Minneapolis: Augsburg Publishing House, [1932]. 128pp.	AP, SOC, WC
1082.	Rolvaag, Ole Edvart. *Leangselens Baat*. Minneapolis: Augsburg Publishing House, 1921. 368pp.	AP, AuC, CLC, LC, LTS, WC, SOC
1083.	Rolvaag, Ole Edvart and P. J. Eikeland. *Norsk Laesebok*. Minneapolis: Augsburg Publishing House, 1919-1925. Vol. I - 339pp., Vol. II - 461pp., Vol. III - 589pp.	AC, AP, DaC, LC, LTS, SOC
1084.	Rolvaag, Ole Edvart. *To Tullinger*. Minneapolis: Augsburg Publishing House, 1920. 240pp.	AP, AuC, LC, LTS, SOC, WC
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1086.	Ronning, Nils Nilsen. *Jesus and the Children*. Minneapolis: Augsburg Publishing House, 1949. 68pp.	AP, LTS
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1087a.	Rorem, Melva. *I Sing of Mary's Child*. Minneapolis: Augsburg Publishing House, [1966]. Unpaged.	AP

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1088.	Roseland, Jens C. *The 900th Anniversary of the Introduction of Christianity into Norway.* Minneapolis: Augsburg Publishing House, 1930. 122pp.	AC, AP, AuC, LC, SOC
1089.	Rosenius, C. O. *"Den der Vinder", eller Guds Folks feltliv paa Jorden.* Minneapolis: Augsburg Publishing House, 1925. 116pp.	AP, LC, LTS, SOC
1090.	Rosenius, C. O. *A Faithful Guide to Peace with God.* Minneapolis: Augsburg Publishing House, 1928. 391pp.	AC, AP, AuC, CLC, LC, LTS, SOC, WTS
1091.	Rosenius, C. O. *Veiledning til Fred.* Minneapolis: Augsburg Publishing House, 1929. 312pp.	AC, AP
1092.	Rothem, B. J. *Poetic Meditations on the Scriptures.* Minneapolis: Augsburg Publishing House, 1951. 72pp.	AP, LTS
1097.	Rygh, G. T. *What Think Ye of Christ? Whose Son Is He?* Minneapolis: Augsburg Publishing House, 1930. 77pp.	AC, AP, LC, LTS, SOC, WTS
1098.	Saeter, O. *Naar Samvitet Vaknar.* Minneapolis: Augsburg Publishing House, 1927. 63pp.	AC, AP, LTS
1100.	Saervold, Ola Johann. *Reisebreve.* Minneapolis: Augsburg Publishing House, 1926. 3 vols.	AC, AP
1100a.	Saint Olaf College. *Song Book.* Minneapolis: Augsburg Publishing House, n.d. Unpaged. 131 hymns.	AP
1101.	Sasse, Hermann. *Here We Stand.* Minneapolis: Augsburg Publishing House, [1938]. 183pp.	AC, AP, AuC, DaC, CLC, LC, LTS, SOC, WC
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1102a.	Sateren, Leland B. *Cantate Domino.* Minneapolis: Augsburg Publishing House, 1942. 69pp.	AP
1102b.	Sateren, Leland B. *The New Song.* Minneapolis: Augsburg Publishing House, 1958. 48pp.	AC, AP
1102c.	Saterlie, Hans Martin. *Foreign Missions in the Bible.* Minneapolis: Augsburg Publishing House, 1923. 84pp.	AP, LTS

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1102d.	Saterlie, Hans Martin. *Hedningemissionens Plads i Bibelen.* Minneapolis: Augsburg Publishing House, 1922. 78pp.	AP
1102e.	Saterlie, Hans Martin. *Minder og indtryk fra Reisen til Kina.* Minneapolis: Augsburg Publishing House, 1916. 216pp.	AP
1103.	Scheid, George. *The Layman and Religious Literature.* Columbus: The [Lutheran] Book Concern, [1927]. 94pp.	SOC
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1105.	Schillinger, James W., Roy D. Linhart, and Harold L. Yochum. *At The Cross.* Columbus: The Lutheran Book Concern, 1933. 163pp.	CU, DC, WTS
1106.	Schillinger, James W. *The Doctrinal System of Charles T. Russell.* Columbus: The Lutheran Book Concern, n.d. 24pp.	
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1110.	Schmidt, John. *They Welcomed the Child.* Minneapolis: Augsburg Publishing House, [1965]. 121pp.	AP, LTS, WTS
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1115.	Schmidt, William. *Die Botschaft des Koenigs.* Columbus: The Lutheran Book Concern, n.d. 320pp.	
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1118. Schmidt, William. *Friedensklaenge.* Columbus: The Lutheran Book Concern, [1921]. 291pp.

1118a. Schmidt, William. *The Golden Fountain.* Columbus: N. P., 1916. 96pp.

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1122a. Schmidt, William. *Sri Ramuldu.* Columbus: F. J. Heer, 1903. 296pp.

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1130.	Schneider, Stanley D. and others. *Facing the Cross*. Columbus: Wartburg Press, 1955.	CU, LTS, SOC, WTS
1131.	Schodde, Geo. H. *Outlines of Biblical Hermeneutics*. Columbus: The Lutheran Book Concern, 1917. 235pp.	CLC, DC, LC, LTS, SOC, WC
1132.	Schoeler, William. *A Critique of Joseph McCabe's Triumph of "Materialism."* Columbus: The [Lutheran] Book Concern, n.d. 124pp.	DaC, DC, LTS, WC, WTS
1133.	Schoeler, William. *Falsely Accused*. Columbus: The Lutheran Book Concern, 1927. 61pp.	DC
1134.	Schoeler, William. *The Lie of the Age*. Columbus: The [Lutheran] Book Concern, 1922. 268pp.	AC, CU, DC, LC, SOC, WC
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1136.	Schoeler, William. *Prophecy and Fulfillment or the Word Proven True*. Columbus: The [Lutheran] Book Concern, 1918. 77pp. Revised edition: 1924. 93pp.	AC, LTS, SOC, WTS
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1140.	Schoeler, William. *Watermarks in the Gospel*. Columbus: The Lutheran Book Concern, [1929]. 123pp.	AC, DC
1141.	Schoeler, William. *What Think Ye of the Bible*. Columbus: The Lutheran Book Concern, 1923. 108pp.	DC, LC
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1143.	Schramm, Edward Weisman, ed. *At Jesus' Feet*. Columbus: Wartburg Press, 1936. 747pp.	AC, DC, LTS, WTS
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1147.	Schramm, William E. *Interviews With God.* Columbus: The Lutheran Book Concern, 1940. 127pp.	DC, WTS
1148.	Schramm, William E. *A Knock At Your Door.* Columbus: The Lutheran Book Concern, n.d. 95pp.	AC, DC, WC, WTS
1150.	Schramm, William E. and Edward Weisman Schramm. *Our Great Salvation and the Centrality of the Cross.* Columbus: The Lutheran Book Concern, 1940. 109pp.	DC, WTS
1151.	Schramm, William E. *What Lutherans Believe.* Columbus: Wartburg Press, 1946. 156pp.	AC, CU, DaC, DC, SOC, WC, WTS
1152.	Schramm, William E. *Winning the Outsider.* Columbus: The Lutheran Book Concern, 1932. 96pp.	DC, LTS, WTS
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1156.	Schuette, Walter E. *The Best Possible Sunday School.* Columbus: The [Lutheran] Book Concern, 1928. 171pp.	AC, DC, LTS, WTS
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1158.	Schuette, Walter E. *The Birdstown Bank.* Columbus: The Lutheran Book Concern, n.d. 64pp.	
1159.	Schuette, Walter E. *A Circular Christmas.* Columbus: The [Lutheran] Book Concern, 1931. 93pp.	AC
1160.	Schuette, Walter E. *Cling to the Cross.* Columbus: The [Lutheran] Book Concern, 1931. 93pp.	CU, DC, WC
1161.	Schuette, Walter E. *A Crisis And A Song.* Columbus: The Lutheran Book Concern, n.d. 62pp.	DC

1162.	Schuette, Walter E. *Devotional Life of the Church Worker*. Columbus: The Lutheran Book Concern, [1921]. 92pp.	DC, LTS, WTS
1163.	Schuette, Walter E. *God Is Faithful*. Columbus: The [Lutheran] Book Concern, [1925]. 96pp.	AC, DC, SOC, WTS
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1165.	Schuette, Walter E. *God's Little Messengers*. Columbus: The [Lutheran] Book Concern, n.d. 63pp.	DC
1167.	Schuette, Walter E. *Hilda's Sunday School*. Columbus: The [Lutheran] Book Concern, n.d. 64pp.	DC
1168.	Schuette, Walter E. *His First Thanksgiving*. Columbus: The Lutheran Book Concern, n.d. 64pp.	
1169.	Schuette, Walter E. *Island Lake, or Led By The Savior's Hand*. Columbus: The Lutheran Book Concern, n.d. 90pp.	DC
1170.	Schuette, Walter E. *Joe's New Truck*. Columbus: The [Lutheran] Book Concern, n.d. 64pp.	DC
1171.	Schuette, Walter E. *Keeping the Faith*. Columbus: Wartburg Press, 1942. 227pp.	AC, DC, LTS, WTS
1172.	Schuette, Walter E. *Lucky or Plucky*. Columbus: The [Lutheran] Book Concern, n.d. 63pp.	DC
1173.	Schuette, Walter E. *The Making of a Preacher*. Columbus: The Lutheran Book Concern, 1927.	
1174.	Schuette, Walter E. *Miss Tebbet's Experiment*. Columbus: The [Lutheran] Book Concern, 1928. 62pp.	DC
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1176.	Schuette, Walter E. *A Mountain Heroine*. Columbus: The [Lutheran] Book Concern, n.d. 60pp.	DC
1178.	Schuette, Walter E. *Sally's Adventure*. Columbus: The Lutheran Book Concern, n.d.	
1179.	Schuette, Walter E. *Sermon Sketches on the Eisenach Epistle Selections*. Columbus: The Lutheran Book Concern, 1927. 195pp.	DC, LTS, WTS
1180.	Schuette, Walter E. *This Jenks Family*. Columbus: Wartburg Press, n.d.	
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1182.	Schuette, Walter E. *Tubby's Prayer.* Columbus: The Lutheran Book Concern, 1927. 62pp.	DC
1183.	Schuette, Walter E. *When Stubby Got His Start.* Columbus: The [Lutheran] Book Concern, 1928. 63pp.	DC
1184.	Schuette, Walter E. *Wilful and Winsome.* Columbus: The [Lutheran] Book Concern, n.d. 64pp.	DC
1185.	Schuette, Walter E. *The Young Railroaders.* Columbus: The [Lutheran] Book Concern, n.d. 59pp.	DC
1186.	Schuh, H. J. *David Zeisberger.* Columbus: The [Lutheran] Book Concern, n.d. 181pp.	AC, CLC, LC, WC, WTS
1187.	Schuh, H. J. *Life of Louis Harms.* Columbus: The Lutheran Book Concern, 1926. 139pp.	AC, CLC, DC, SOC, WC, WTS
1188.	Schuh, Louis H. *The Complete Life.* Columbus: The [Lutheran] Book Concern, n.d. 119pp.	DC, SOC, WC
1189.	Schuh, Louis H. *Enjoying Church Work.* Columbus: The Lutheran Book Concern, 1918. 83pp.	AC, AuC, DC SOC, WTS
1190.	Schuh, Louis H. *Funeral Sermons.* Columbus: The Lutheran Book Concern, 1918. 468pp.	AC, DC, WTS
1192.	Schuh, Louis H. *The Happy Family.* Columbus: The Lutheran Book Concern, 1929. 203pp.	CU, DC
1193.	Schuh, Louis H. *The Hidden Life, or the Work of the Holy Spirit.* Columbus: The Lutheran Book Concern, 1931. 201pp.	DC, LTS
1196.	Schuh, Louis H., ed. *Missionary Sermons.* Columbus: The Lutheran Book Concern, 1921. 549pp.	AC, DC, LC, LTS, WTS
1197.	Schuh, Louis H. *Occasional Sermons.* Columbus: The Lutheran Book Concern, 1922 . 2 vols. Vol. I - 606pp., Vol. II - 609pp.	AC, DC, LC, LTS, WTS
1198.	Schuh, Louis H. *Saved To Serve.* Columbus: The [Lutheran] Book Concern, n.d. 109pp.	AC, WTS
1200.	Schumacher, John F. *Victory and Peace.* Columbus: Wartburg Press, n.d. 54pp.	DC, WTS
1201.	Schweizer, Edsel. *The Christian Parent Teaches About Sex.* Minneapolis: Augsburg Publishing House, 1966. 102pp.	AC, AP, LC, LTS, WTS
1202.	Scott, Roscoe G. *The Golden Trail to Mop 'n' Pail.* Columbus: Wartburg Press, 1947. 80pp.	AC, DC

1202a.	*Se Paa Jesus, Luthersk Bokmissions Smaaskrifter nr. 42*. Minneapolis: Augsburg Publishing House, 1936. 64pp.	AC, AP
1202b.	*Search The Scriptures: New Testament Study Helps*. Minneapolis: Augsburg Publishing House, 1936. 144pp.	AP
1203.	Seay, Homer H. *Church Posters and Publicity*. Columbus: Wartburg Press, 1946. 79pp.	AC, CLC, CU, DC, LC, LTS, SOC
1203a.	*Selected Hymns for Conventions*. Minneapolis: Augsburg Publishing House, 1929. 64pp.	AP
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1204.	*Service Book and Hymnal of the Lutheran Church in America, Liturgical Music*. Minneapolis: Augsburg Publishing House, 1957. 144pp.	AC, AP
1205.	*Service Book and Hymnal of the Lutheran Church in America, Music Edition*. Minneapolis: Augsburg Publishing House and Others, 1958. 1012pp.	AC, AP, WTS
1206.	Shank, Margarethe Erdahl. *Call Back the Years*. Minneapolis: Augsburg Publishing House, [1966]. 273pp.	AP, LTS, SOC, WTS
1206a.	Shank, Margarethe Erdahl. *The Coffee Train*. Minneapolis: Augsburg Publishing House, 1953. 285pp.	AP
1207.	Shaw, Joseph M. *If God Be For Us*. Minneapolis: Augsburg Publishing House, [1966]. 120pp.	AP, DaC, LTS, SOC, WC, WTS
1208.	Shaw, Joseph M. *Pulpit Under the Sky*. Minneapolis: Augsburg Publishing House, 1955. 250pp.	AC, AP, AuC, CLC, LC, LTS, SOC, WC, WTS
1209.	Sheatsley, Clarence Valentine. *Good News*. Columbus: The Lutheran Book Concern, 1931. 156pp.	CU, DC, WTS
1210.	Sheatsley, Clarence Valentine. *History of the Evangelical Lutheran Joint Synod of Ohio*. Columbus: The Lutheran Book Concern, 1919. 312pp.	CU, DC, LTS, SOC, WC, WTS
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1213.	Sheatsley, Clarence Valentine. *Unsere Mission in Indien*. Columbus: The [Lutheran] Book Concern, n.d. 146pp.	DC, WTS

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1217.	Sheatsley, Jacob, ed. The Chart-Teacher's Guide. Columbus: The Lutheran Book Concern, n.d. 309pp.	DC
1218.	Sheatsley, Jacob. A Guide to the Study of the Bible. Columbus: The Lutheran Book Concern, 1918. 244pp.	CLC, CU, DC, LTS, SOC, WC, WTS
1219.	Sheatsley, Jacob. Intermediate Bible Narratives. Columbus: The Lutheran Book Concern, n.d. 196pp.	
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1227.	Sheatsley, Jacob. Primary Teacher's Guide. Columbus: The [Lutheran] Book Concern, n.d. 154pp.	DC
1228.	Sheatsley, Jacob. Self-Instructed Bible Study. Columbus: The Lutheran Book Concern, 1937. 80pp.	DC
1229.	Sheatsley, Jacob. To My Sunday School Teachers. Columbus: The Lutheran Book Concern, 1902. 123pp. Seventh edition: 1917.	AC
1231.	Shek, Johnny and Olaf K. Skinsnes. Sketches of Christ from a Chinese Brush. Minneapolis: Augsburg Publishing House, 1956. 79pp.	AP, LC, LTS, SOC

1232.	Shupe, Marie. *Bible Story Time.* Columbus: Wartburg Press, 1951. 52 cards, Unpaged.	AP
1233.	Siefkes, S. H. *Abseits von der Strasse.* Waverly: Waverly Publishing Company, 1926. 144pp.	AC
1233a.	Siefkes, S. H. *Erinnerungen und Gedanken.* Columbus: The Lutheran Book Concern, 1939. 172pp.	DC, WTS
1234.	Sihler, William. *Fifty Fables for Children.* Minneapolis: Augsburg Publishing House, 1927. 75pp.	AP, AuC, LTS
1235.	Simon, Martin P. *True to God and Country.* Columbus: The Lutheran Book Concern, 1931. 190pp.	DC, WTS
1236.	Simpson, Eugene E. *History of St. Olaf Choir.* Minneapolis: Augsburg Publishing House, 1921. 188pp.	AP, CU, LC, LTS, SOC, WC, WTS
1236a.	*Singing Time: Best Loved Hymns of Prayer and Praise.* Minneapolis: Augsburg Publishing House, 1953. Unpaged, 79 hymns.	AP
1237.	Skard, Bjarne. *The Incarnation.* Minneapolis: Augsburg Publishing House, 1960. 184pp.	AC, AP, CLC, LTS, SOC, WTS
1238.	Skille, Edvard. *Den metriske Kalender.* Minneapolis: Augsburg Publishing House, 1918. 85pp.	AC, AP, LC, SOC
1239.	Skinsnes, Casper C. *Scalpel and Cross in Honan.* Minneapolis: Augsburg Publishing House, 1952. 254pp.	AC, AP, AuC, DaC, CLC, LC, LTS, SOC, WTS
1240.	Skordalsvold, Johannes Jensen. *King Olav.* Minneapolis: Augsburg Publishing House, 1930. 120pp.	AC, AP
1240a.	Skovgaard-Petersen, C. *Alone With God.* Translated by C. C. Kloth. Blair, Nebraska: Lutheran Publishing House, 1954. 16pp.	DaC
1241.	Skovgaard-Petersen, C. *The Book of Youth.* Blair, Nebraska: Danish Lutheran Publishing House, 1920. 280pp. Originally published 1909.	AC
1241a.	Skydsgaard, Kirsten E., ed. *The Papal Council and the Gospel.* Minneapolis: Augsburg Publishing House, [1961]. 213pp.	AC, AP
1241b.	Sletten, O. H., comp. *Hymnal for Sunday Schools and Young People's Societies.* Minneapolis: Lutheran Free Church Publishing Company, n.d. 185pp.	AC, SOC, WTS
1243.	Smedal, Gottfried Athanasius. *"Verden og Kirken" og Andre Ting.* Minneapolis: Augsburg Publishing House, 1927. 135pp.	AC, AP, LC, LTS, SOC

1244.	Smedsrud, W. Gordon. *What Youth Are Thinking.* Minneapolis: Augsburg Publishing House, 1960. 65pp.	AC, AP, LC, LTS, SOC, WTS
1245.	Smith, Arthur H. *A History of the East Ohio Synod.* Columbus: The [Lutheran] Book Concern, n.d. 250pp.	
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1246a.	Solberg, Charles Orrin. *The Call to Service or the Challenge of a Constructive Faith.* Minneapolis: Augsburg Publishing House, 1934. 148pp.	AP
1247.	Solberg, Charles Orrin. *Oliver Nidson.* Minneapolis: Augsburg Publishing House, 1927. 167pp.	AP, AuC, LC, LTS, SOC
1247a.	Solberg, Charles Orrin. *The Spirit of American Lutheranism and Other Essays.* Minneapolis: Augsburg Publishing House, 1917. 218pp.	AP
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1248a.	Sovik, Ruth and others. *Mission in Formosa and Hong Kong.* Minneapolis: Augsburg Publishing House, 1957. 48pp.	AP
1249.	Sperati, Carlo A. *Choruses and Chorals for the Choral Union.* Minneapolis: Augsburg Publishing House, 1919. 281pp.	AP
1250.	Spohr, Georg Ernest. *So sollst du mich preisen.* Columbus: The Lutheran Book Concern, n.d. 79pp.	
1251.	Sponheim, Paul R. *Contemporary Forms of Faith.* Minneapolis: Augsburg Publishing House, 1967. 128pp.	AP, CLC, CU, LTS, SOC, WC, WTS
1252.	Sponland, Ingeborg. *My Reasonable Service.* Minneapolis: Augsburg Publishing House, 1938. 158pp.	AP, DaC, LC, LTS, SOC, WTS
1253.	Staley, Garmen. *Facts and Common Sense Versus Too Much Government.* Columbus: The [Lutheran] Book Concern, 1925. 296pp.	AC
1254.	Starck, Johann Friedrich. *Taegliches Handbuch in guten und boesen Tagen.* Columbus: The Lutheran Book Concern, n.d. 743, 133pp.	AC, SOC, WC, WTS
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1256.	States, Fannie M. *Howard's Victories.* Columbus: The [Lutheran] Book Concern, n.d. 96pp.	DC
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1258.	States, Fannie M. *Virginia.* Columbus: Wartburg Press, n.d. 88pp.	DC
1259.	Stearns, Gustav. *From Army Camps and Battle-Fields.* Minneapolis: Augsburg Publishing House, 1919. 281pp.	AC, AP, CLC, LTS, SOC
1259a.	Steen, Ernest B. *That You May Know.* Minneapolis: Augsburg Publishing House, 1948. 95pp.	AP
1259b.	Steinberger, G. *In The Footprints of the Lamb.* Minneapolis: Lutheran Free Church Publishing Company, 1936. 69pp. Another edition: 1935. 76pp.	AC
1259c.	Steinberger, G. *Veien i lammets Spor.* Minneapolis: Folkebladet Publishing Company, 1920. 62pp.	AC, SOC
1260.	Steinhaeuser, Albert T. W. *The Man of Sorrows.* Minneapolis: Augsburg Publishing House, 1951. 293pp.	AP, AuC, CLC, LTS, SOC, WTS
1261.	Stellhorn, Anna D. *The Confirmation Class of 1870.* Columbus: The Lutheran Book Concern, n.d. 79pp.	LTS
1262.	Stellhorn, F. W. *The Epistle of St. Paul to the Romans.* Columbus: The Lutheran Book Concern, 1918. 302pp.	AC, DC, SOC, WC, WTS
1262a.	Stensrud, Edward Martinus. *Elementary Christian Education: An Inquiry into Its Present Status in America.* Minneapolis: Augsburg Publishing House, [1923]. 62pp.	AP
1263.	Stolee, Haakon J. *Genesis.* Minneapolis: Augsburg Publishing House, 1937. 167pp.	AC, AP, AuC, LC
1264.	Stolee, Haakon J. *Pentecostalism.* Minneapolis: Augsburg Publishing House, 1936. 142pp.	AC, AP, AuC, CLC, LC, LTS, SOC
1265.	Stolee, Haakon J. *Speaking In Tongues.* Minneapolis: Augsburg Publishing House, 1963. 142pp.	AC, AP, CLC, CU, LTS, WC, WTS
1266.	Stolee, Ingeborg and O. Nilson. *Luther's Life.* Minneapolis: Augsburg Publishing House, 1943. 157pp.	AP, CU, LTS, SOC, WC, WTS

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1267a.	Storvick, Hortense. *We Learn To Teach.* Minneapolis: Augsburg Publishing House, 1946. 146pp.	AP
1268.	Streng, William D. *Toward Meaning in Worship.* Minneapolis: Augsburg Publishing House, [1968]. 128pp.	AP, CLC, CU, LC, LTS, SOC, WC, WTS
1269.	Streng, William D. *What Language Shall I Borrow.* Minneapolis: Augsburg Publishing House, [1961]. 191pp.	AP, LTS, WC, WTS
1270.	Stretton, Hasba. *Alone In London.* Blair, Nebraska: Danish Lutheran Publishing House, 1921 134pp.	
1271.	Strodach, Paul Zeller. *Lift Up Your Heart.* Minneapolis: Augsburg Publishing House, 1934. 142pp.	AP, AuC, LTS, SOC
1272.	Strodach, Paul Zeller, ed. *Oremus: Collects, Devotions, Litanies from Ancient and Modern Sources.* Minneapolis: Augsburg Publishing House, [1966]. 213pp.	AP, LTS, WTS
1273.	Stromme, Peer Olsen, *Digte.* Minneapolis: Augsburg Publishing House, 1920. 84pp.	AC, AP, CLC, LC, LTS, SOC
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1275.	Stromme, Peer Olsen. *How Halvor Became a Minister.* Minneapolis: Augsburg Publishing House, [1936]. 192pp.	AP, LC, LTS, SOC
1276.	Strommen, Anna Irene. *Rivers To The Sea.* Minneapolis: Augsburg Publishing House, 1955. 266pp.	AP, LC, LTS
1277.	Studier, H. E. *Wedding Flowers From God's Garden.* Columbus: Wartburg Press, 1938. 24pp.	
1278.	Stuyvesant, P. *The Great Adventure.* Columbus: The Lutheran Book Concern, n.d. 266pp.	AC, DC
1279.	Suechting, August G., ed. *Thine Forever.* Columbus: Wartburg Press, 1950. 383pp.	AC, DC, WC, WTS
1280.	Sutton, Anna. *The Silver Goblet.* Columbus: The [Lutheran] Book Concern, n.d. 95pp.	
1281.	Svendsen, Conrad. *Daily Devotions for Children.* Minneapolis: Augsburg Publishing House, 1928. 64pp.	AP, LC, LTS WTS

1282.	Svendsen, Conrad. *Daily Meditations Arranged According To The Church Year*. Minneapolis: Augsburg Publishing House, 1923. 454pp.	AC, AP, LC, LTS, WTS
1282a.	Svenson, J., Mrs. *Sjaelens Stemminger i sorg Glaede og Haab*. Minneapolis: Folkebladets Trykkeri, 1918. 93pp.	AC
1282b.	Sverdrup, H. V. *Forklaring over Luthers Lille Katekisme*. Minneapolis: Den Forenede Kirkes Forlag, 1917. 77pp.	AC
1283.	Swansen, H. Fred. *The Founder of St. Ansgar*. Blair, Nebraska: Lutheran Publishing House, 1949. 230pp.	DaC, LC, SOC, WTS
1283a.	Swanson, Clifford J. *The In-Between Years*. Minneapolis: Augsburg Publishing House, [1967]. 79pp.	AP, CLC, LC, LTS, WTS
1284.	Swenson, David Ferdinand. *Something About Kierkegaard*. Minneapolis: Augsburg Publishing House, 1941. 173pp. Revised edition: 1945. 259pp.	AC, AP, AuC, CLC, DaC, LC, LTS, WC, WTS
1285.	*Symbols of the Evangelical Lutheran Church*. Minneapolis: Augsburg Publishing House, 1939. 61pp.	AP, AuC, CLC, LTS
1285a.	Syrdahl, Rolf A. *Mission in Formosa and Hong Kong*. Minneapolis: Augsburg Publishing House, 1957. 48pp.	AP, LTS
1286.	Syrdahl, Rolf A. *Mission in Japan*. Minneapolis: Augsburg Publishing House, 1958. 48pp.	AP, LC, LTS, WTS
1287.	Syrdahl, Rolf A. *Mission in Madagascar*. Minneapolis: Augsburg Publishing House, 1957. 48pp.	AP, LC, LTS, WTS
1288.	Syrdahl, Rolf A. *To The End of the Earth*. Minneapolis: Augsburg Publishing House, [1967]. 177pp.	AP, CLC, LC, LTS, WC, WTS
1289.	Syverud, Genevieve Wold. *This Is My Song of Songs*. Minneapolis: Augsburg Publishing House, [1966]. 80pp.	AP, LTS
1290.	Tanner, Jacob. *Atonement and Forgiveness*. Minneapolis: Augsburg Publishing House, 1948. 114pp.	AC, AP, AuC, LC, SOC, WTS
1291.	Tanner, Jacob. *Exploring God's Word*. Minneapolis: Augsburg Publishing House, 1950. 168pp.	AP, LC, LTS, WC, WTS

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1292.	Tanner, Jacob. *Manual of Bible Teachings.* Minneapolis: Augsburg Publishing House, 1925-27. 4 vols. 410pp.	AC, AP, AuC, LC, LTS, SOC
1292a.	Tanner, Jacob. *My Faith, A Preliminary Proof of the Proposed Catechism Explanation.* Minneapolis: Augsburg Publishing House, 1937. 171pp.	AP
1293.	Tanner, Jacob. *Personality We Have Missed.* Minneapolis: Augsburg Publishing House, 1954. 76pp.	AC, AP, LTS, SOC, WTS
1293a.	Tanner, Jacob. *Ten Studies in Biblical History.* Minneapolis: Augsburg Publishing House, 1935. 112pp.	AP
1294.	Tanner, Jacob. *Ten Studies in Church Doctrine.* Minneapolis: Augsburg Publishing House, 1927. 84pp.	AP, DaC, LC, LTS, SOC, WTS
1295.	Tanner, Jacob. *Ten Studies in Religious Pedagogy.* Minneapolis: Augsburg Publishing House, 1937. 73pp. c1930.	AC, AP, DaC, LTS, SOC, WTS
1296.	Tanner, Jacob. *Ten Studies in the Catechism.* Minneapolis: Augsburg Publishing House, 1927. 84pp.	AC, AP, DaC, LC, LTS, SOC, WC, WTS
1296a.	Tanner, Jacob. *Ten Studies in the Creed.* Minneapolis: Augsburg Publishing House, 1950. 112pp.	AP
1297.	Tanner, Jacob. *Ten Studies on the Child.* Minneapolis: Augsburg Publishing House, 1929. 84pp.	AC, AP, LC, LTS, SOC, WC, WTS
1298.	Tanner, Jacob. *Thousand Years Not Pre-Millenial.* Minneapolis: Augsburg Publishing House, 1934. 57pp.	AP, LC, LTS, SOC
1299.	*Teach Me Thy Paths.* Compiled and edited by ELC pastors. Minneapolis: Augsburg Publishing House, 1949. 328pp.	AP, LTS
1300.	Thilo, Hans-Joachim. *Unfragmented Man.* Minneapolis: Augsburg Publishing House, 1949. 328pp.	AP, CU, LTS, SOC, WC, WTS
1301.	*This We Believe, Symbols of the ELC.* Minneapolis: Augsburg Publishing House, 1958. 55pp.	AP, LC, LTS
1302.	Thomassen, Rolf. *Beyond Today.* Minneapolis: Augsburg Publishing House, 1953. 163pp.	AC, AuC, AP, LC, LTS, SOC
1302a.	Thompson, Burnette. *Let's Sing: Songs for Little Children.* Minneapolis: Augsburg Publishing House, 1940. 48pp.	LTS
1302b.	Thompson, Burnette and Lois Van Alstine. *Talking Silhouettes.* Minneapolis: Augsburg Publishing House, 1936. 2 vols.	AP

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1303.	Thompson, Gjermund S. *Cross Is Urgent*. Minneapolis: Augsburg Publishing House, 1952. 117pp.	AP, LTS, SOC
1304.	Thompson, May Hall. *La-Lo's Magic Clay*. Columbus: Wartburg Press, 1946. 94pp.	DC
1305.	Thompson, May Hall. *Pedro and Priscilla*. Columbus: Wartburg Press, 1945. 96pp.	AC, DC
1306.	Thompson, Orin D. *Even If I'm Bad?* Minneapolis: Augsburg Publishing House, 1966. 80pp.	AC, AP, LTS, WTS
1307.	Thorson, T. C. *The Oppression and Exodus*. Minneapolis: Augsburg Publishing House, 1930. 136pp.	AP, DaC, LC, LTS, SOC, WC, WTS
1308.	Tillmanns, Walter G. *The World and Men Around Luther*. Minneapolis: Augsburg Publishing House, [1959]. 384pp.	AC, AP, CLC, CU, DaC, LC, LTS, SOC, WC, WTS
1309.	Tingelstad, O. A. and O. M. Norlie. *Christian Keyser Preus*. Minneapolis: Augsburg Publishing House, 1922. 406pp.	AC, AP, AuC, CLC, LC, LTS, SOC, WTS
1310.	Tjernagel, Nehemias. *Fotturer i Aegypten og Palaestina*. Minneapolis: Augsburg Publishing House, 1919. 318pp.	AC, AP, LC, LTS, SOC
1311.	Tjernagel, Nehemias. *Walking Trips in Norway*. Columbus: The Lutheran Book Concern, 1917. 269pp.	AC, CLC, DC, LC, SOC
1311a.	Torvik, Gunnerius Taraldson. *Vatsy-An-Dalana*. Minneapolis: Augsburg Publishing House, 1937. 385pp.	AP
1312.	Trapp, W. A. *The Bells Call Me*. Columbus: The Lutheran Book Concern, 1917. 269pp.	DC
1313.	Trasdahl, J. *The Baron's Daughter or Born Again*. Minneapolis: Augsburg Publishing House, n.d. 159pp.	AC, AP
1313a.	*Trefoldighets Menighet Minneapolis, Minnesota, 1868-1918*. Minneapolis: Folkebladets Trykkeri, 1918. 95pp.	AC
1314.	Tressel, Amalia. *Tales Truly True*. Columbus: The Lutheran Book Concern, 1940. 248pp.	DC, WTS
1316.	Tressel, Oscar (Mrs.). *Three Kerchiefs*. Columbus: Wartburg Press, 1955. 191pp.	DC
1317.	Tressel, Walter E. *Building A New World*. Columbus: The Lutheran Book Concern, 1926. 96pp.	DC, WTS

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1318.	Tvedt, Kristoffer N. *I Doedsskyggens Dal: Under det Roede Flagi Kina.* Minneapolis: Norsk Lutherske Kirke i Amerika, [1932]. 96pp.	AC, LTS
1319.	*Twenty Confirmation Sermons.* Compiled and edited by ELC pastors. Minneapolis: Augsburg Publishing House, 1951. 232pp.	AP, LTS
1320.	*Twenty Funeral Sermons.* Compiled and edited by ELC pastors. Minneapolis: Augsburg Publishing House, 1952. 208pp.	AP, LTS
1321.	*Twenty Occasional Sermons.* Compiled and edited by ELC pastors. Minneapolis: Augsburg Publishing House, 1953. 240pp.	AP, LTS
1322.	*Twenty Stewardship Sermons.* Compiled and edited by ELC pastors. Minneapolis: Augsburg Publishing House, 1954. 232pp.	AP, LTS
1323.	Ulrich, Louis E. *That I May Live In His Kingdom.* Minneapolis: Augsburg Publishing House, [1963]. 232pp.	AP, LTS, WTS
1323a.	United Danish Evangelical Lutheran Church. *Bible History.* [According to Bishop Carl Frederik Balslev.] Together with a brief history of the church since the days of the Apostles. Blair, Nebraska: Lutheran Publishing House, 1945. 148pp.	DaC
1323b.	United Danish Evangelical Lutheran Church. *Ministerial Acts.* Blair, Nebraska: Danish Lutheran Publishing House, 1925. 39pp.	DaC
1323c.	United Danish Evangelical Lutheran Church. *Order of Service.* Blair, Nebraska: Lutheran Publishing House, 1945. 203pp.	LTS
1323d.	United Danish Evangelical Lutheran Church. *Salmebog for Kirke og Hjem.* Blair, Nebraska: Danish Lutheran Publishing House, 1918. 405pp.	DaC
1324.	United Evangelical Lutheran Church. *Our Missionaries Far and Near.* Blair, Nebraska: Lutheran Publishing House, 1948. 126pp.	AC
1325.	*Unto A Living Hope.* Compiled and edited by ELC pastors. Minneapolis: Augsburg Publishing House, 1947. 294pp.	AP, LTS, SOC
1326.	Urban, F. P. *Gottlieb Lerch.* Chicago: Wartburg Publishing House, 1921. 89pp.	DC, WTS

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1327.	Urban, F. P. *Der weisse Gott.* Chicago: Wartburg Publishing House, n.d. 133pp.	DC
1327a.	Urseth, H. A., ed. *Bible History for Home and School.* Revised edition. Minneapolis: The Lutheran Free Church Publishing Company, 1934. 206pp. First edition: 1908.	AC
1328.	Vajta, Vilmos. *Church In Fellowship.* Minneapolis: Augsburg Publishing House, 1963. 279pp.	AC, AP, CLC, CU, LC, LTS, SOC, WC, WTS
1329.	Varner, Paul N. *Case Histories from the Files of Dr. Luke.* Columbus: Wartburg Press, 1957. 154pp.	DC, LTS, WTS
1331.	Wadehl, H. *The Fountain of Gold and Other Stories.* Minneapolis: Augsburg Publishing House, 1925. 222pp.	AC, AP, LC, SOC
1332.	Wagner, Alfred M. *Training the Laity for Personal Mission Work.* Columbus: The Lutheran Book Concern, 1923. 48pp.	LC, LTS, SOC, WTS
1333.	Wagner, Martin L. *Chicago Synod and Its Antecedents.* Chicago: Wartburg Publishing House, 1923. 270pp.	DC
1334.	Wagner, Martin L. *Freemasonry.* Columbus: The Lutheran Book Concern, 1923.	LC, LTS
1335.	Waldeland, M. E. *Alfabetisk Indholdsregister over alle Vers i Landstads Salmebog.* Minneapolis: Augsburg Publishing House, 1921. 112pp.	AP
1336.	Waldeland, M. E. *Alphabetical Index of Every Stanza of Hymns in the Lutheran Hymnary.* Minneapolis: Augsburg Publishing House, 1921. 80pp.	AP, SOC
1338.	Wallace, Mable A. *Blackberry Mountain.* Columbus: Wartburg Press, 1947. 160pp.	AC, DC
1339.	Walton, O. F. (Mrs.). *Nobody Loves Me.* Blair, Nebraska: Danish Lutheran Publishing House, 1921. 95pp.	
1340.	Warren, Betsy. *Make A Joyful Noise.* Minneapolis: Augsburg Publishing House, [1962]. 64pp.	AP, LTS, WC, WTS
1341.	Watson, Marjory. *The Responsibility of Ruffles.* Columbus: The Lutheran Book Concern, n.d. 184pp.	

1342.	*We Beheld His Glory*. Compiled and edited by ELC pastors. Minneapolis: Augsburg Publishing House, 1946. 242pp.	AP, CU, SOC, WTS
1343.	Wedel, Lois. *Pioneer Tales of a Great City*. Columbus: Wartburg Press, 1944. 64pp.	DC
1344.	Wedge, Elizabeth Darbee. *Don't Forget! A True Story*. Minneapolis: Augsburg Publishing House, 1959. 176pp.	AP, LTS
1345.	Wee, M. O. *Men Who Knew God: Samuel, Amos, Haggai*. Minneapolis: Augsburg Publishing House, 1932. 122pp.	AP, AuC, LC, LTS, SOC
1346.	Wee, M. O. and O. E. Rolvaag. *Mindebok om Hans Nielsen Hauge*. Minneapolis: Augsburg Publishing House, 1926. 144pp.	AC, AP, LC, LTS, SOC
1347.	Wee, M. O. *Moses: Faith in Decision*. Minneapolis: Augsburg Publishing House, 1929. 121pp.	AP, LC, LTS, SOC, WTS
1348.	Wee, M. O. *Moses: Troen i Valg*. Minneapolis: Augsburg Publishing House, 1927. 95pp.	AC, AP, LC, LTS, SOC
1349.	Wee, M. O. *Thoughts During Lent*. Minneapolis: Augsburg Publishing House, 1942. 64pp.	AP, LTS, SOC
1350.	Wee, M. O. *Who Is Jesus?* Minneapolis: Augsburg Publishing House, 1925. 78pp.	AP, CLC, LC, LTS, SOC
1352.	Werner, Pat. *How Many Angels In The Sky?* Minneapolis: Augsburg Publishing House, 1965. Unpaged.	AP
1353.	Werning, Waldo J. *Winning Them Back*. Minneapolis: Augsburg Publishing House, [1963]. 79pp.	AP, LTS, WTS
1354.	Westermann, Claus. *Handbook to the Old Testament*. Minneapolis: Augsburg Publishing House, [1967]. 285pp.	AP, AuC, CLC, DaC, LC, LTS, WC, WTS
1355.	Wetzler, Robert and Helen Huntington. *Seasons and Symbols*. Minneapolis: Augsburg Publishing House, 1962. 108pp.	AC, AP, CU, LC, LTS, SOC, WC, WTS
1356.	*What Seek Ye?* Compiled and edited by ELC pastors. Minneapolis: Augsburg Publishing House, 1948. 271pp.	AP, CLC, LTS, SOC
1357.	Whitman, Allen. *Parson McFright*. Minneapolis: Augsburg Publishing House, [1967]. 102pp.	AP, CLC, CU, LTS, WTS
1357a.	Wickland, Gustaf A. *Tiny Tree*. Minneapolis: Augsburg Publishing House, 1959. Unpaged.	AP

1357b.	Wiemer, Rudolf Otto. *Animals at the Manger.* Minneapolis: Augsburg Publishing House, [1969]. [29] pp.	AP
1357c.	Wiemer, Rudolf Otto. *Jonah and the Big Fish.* Minneapolis: Augsburg Publishing House, [1967]. Unpaged.	AP
1357d.	Wiemer, Rudolf Otto. *Joseph and His Brothers.* Minneapolis: Augsburg Publishing House, [1967]. Unpaged.	AP
1357e.	Wiemer, Rudolf Otto. *Joseph in Egypt.* Minneapolis: Augsburg Publishing House, [1967]. Unpaged.	AP
1357f.	Wiemer, Rudolf Otto. *Noah's Ark.* Minneapolis: Augsburg Publishing House, [1967]. Unpaged.	AP
1357g.	Wiemer, Rudolf Otto. *The Prodigal Son.* Minneapolis: Augsburg Publishing House, [1967]. Unpaged.	AP
1358.	Winslow, Belle Hagen. *Where Man Is King.* Minneapolis: Augsburg Publishing House, 1921. 266pp.	AC, AP, DaC, LC, SOC
1359.	Winslow, Belle Hagen. *The White Dawn.* Minneapolis: Augsburg Publishing House, 1920. 220pp. Second edition: 1922. 261pp.	AP, LC, SOC
1360.	Wisloeff, Carl F. *The Gift of Communion.* Minneapolis: Augsburg Publishing House, [1964]. 253pp.	AP, CLC, CU, LC, LTS, SOC, WTS
1361.	Wisloff, Fredrik. *I Believe in the Holy Spirit.* Minneapolis: Augsburg Publishing House, 1949. 272pp.	AP, DaC, LC, LTS, SOC, WTS
1362.	Wisloff, Fredrik. *Streams of Gladness.* Minneapolis: Augsburg Publishing House, 1958. 207pp.	AP, DaC, LTS, WTS
1363.	Wisloff, John M. *Vent paa Herren.* Minneapolis: Augsburg Publishing House, 1949. 133pp.	AP
1363a.	Wist, Johannes B. *Reisen til Rochester.* Minneapolis: Augsburg Publishing House, 1922. 136pp.	AC, AP, LTS
1364.	Wolf, Herbert C. *Kierkegaard and Bultmann: The Quest of the Historical Jesus.* Minneapolis: Augsburg Publishing House, [1965]. 100pp.	AP, AuC, CLC, CU, LC, LTS, SOC, WC, WTS
1364a.	World Council of Churches. *The Old and the New in the Church.* Minneapolis: Augsburg Publishing House, 1961. 91pp.	AP

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1364b. World Council of Churches. One Lord, One Baptism. Minneapolis: Augsburg Publishing House, 1960. 79pp. AP

1364c. Yelverton, Eric E. Archbishop of the Reformation, Laurentius Petri Nericius. Minneapolis: Augsburg Publishing House, 1959. 153pp. AP

1364d. Ylvisaker, Carl B. Faith, Hope, Love--These Three. Minneapolis: Augsburg Publishing House, 1943. 118pp. AP

1364e. Ylvisaker, Erling. Eminent Pioneers: Norwegian-American Pioneer Sketches. Minneapolis: Augsburg Publishing House, 1934. 162pp. AP

1364f. Ylvisaker, I. D. The Changeless Christ. Minneapolis: Augsburg Publishing House, 1929. 243pp. AP

1364g. Ylvisaker, Johannes Thorbjornsen. The Gospels. Minneapolis: Augsburg Publishing House, 1932. 790pp. AP

1366. Ylvisaker, Nils Martin. Faces Toward God. Minneapolis: Augsburg Publishing House, 1936. 240pp. AC, AP, DaC, LC, LTS, SOC, WTS

1367. Ylvisaker, Nils Martin. Glory Road. Minneapolis: Augsburg Publishing House, 1933. 142pp. AC, AP, LC, LTS, SOC, WC

1369. Ylvisaker, Nils Martin. No Other Way. Minneapolis: Augsburg Publishing House, 1938. 255pp. AP, AuC, CLC, DaC, LC, LTS, SOC, WC, WTS

1370. Ylvisaker, Nils Martin. Service Prayer Book. Minneapolis: Augsburg Publishing House, 1940. 219pp. AP, AuC, LC, LTS, SOC, WTS

1371. Ylvisaker, Nils Martin. Trumpets of God. Minneapolis: Augsburg Publishing House, 1945. 176pp. AC, AP, CLC, DaC, LC, LTS, SOC, WC, WTS

1372. Yochum, Harold L. Communion and Confessional Sermons. Columbus: The Lutheran Book Concern, n.d. 112pp. AC, DC, LTS, WTS

1373. Yochum, Harold L. Confirmation Sermons. Columbus: The Lutheran Book Concern, 1933. 143pp. AC, DC, WTS

1374. Young, Henry. Bible Reading Guide. Columbus: Wartburg Press, 1958. 96pp. AC, DC, LTS

1375. Young, Henry. Come Into My Heart. Columbus: The Lutheran Book Concern, 1939. 79pp. DC, WTS

1376. Young, Henry. The Promises of God. Columbus: The Lutheran Book Concern, 1940. 98pp. DC, WTS

1377.	Youngdahl, Reuben K. *Looking God's Way.* Minneapolis: Augsburg Publishing House, [1966]. 170pp.	AP, CU, LTS, WTS
1379.	Zeidler, Clemens H. *Altar Prayers for the Church Year.* Minneapolis: Augsburg Publishing House, 1962. 200pp.	AP, LTS, WTS
1380.	Zeilinger, G. J. *A Missionary Synod With A Mission, 1854-1929.* Chicago: Wartburg Publishing House, 1929. 115pp.	DC, LTS, SOC, WC, WTS
1381.	Ziemke, Donald. *Love for the Neighbor in Luther's Theology: Development of His Thought, 1512-1529.* Minneapolis: Augsburg Publishing House, 1963. 108pp.	AP, AuC, DaC, LC, LTS, SOC, WC, WTS

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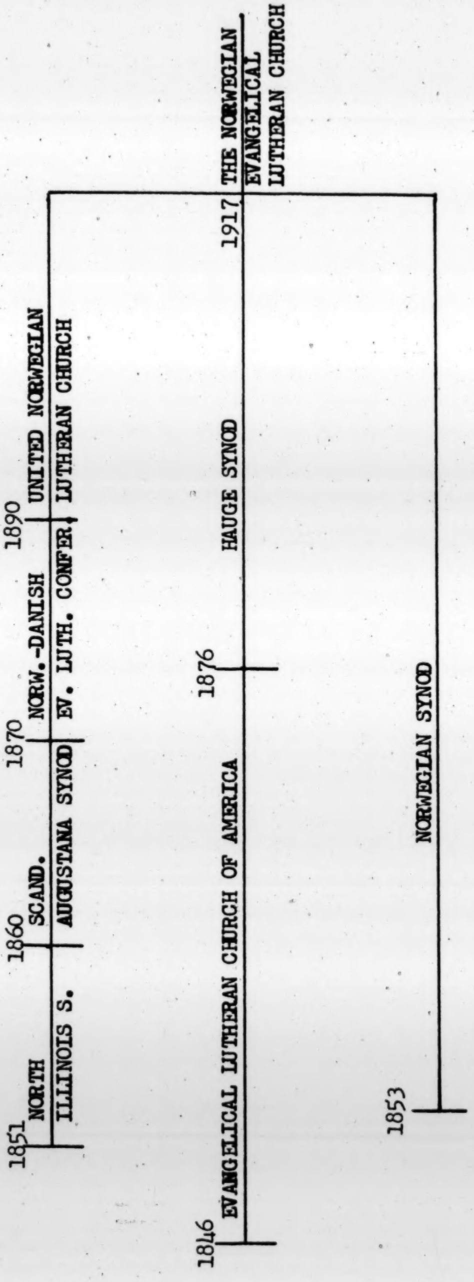
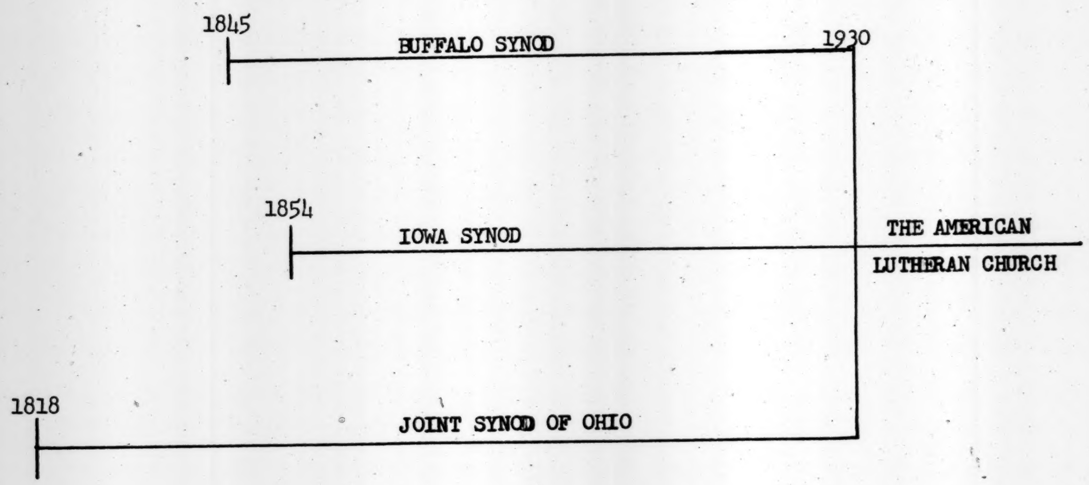
APPENDIX

THE NORWEGIAN EVANGELICAL LUTHERAN CHURCH MERGER OF 1917

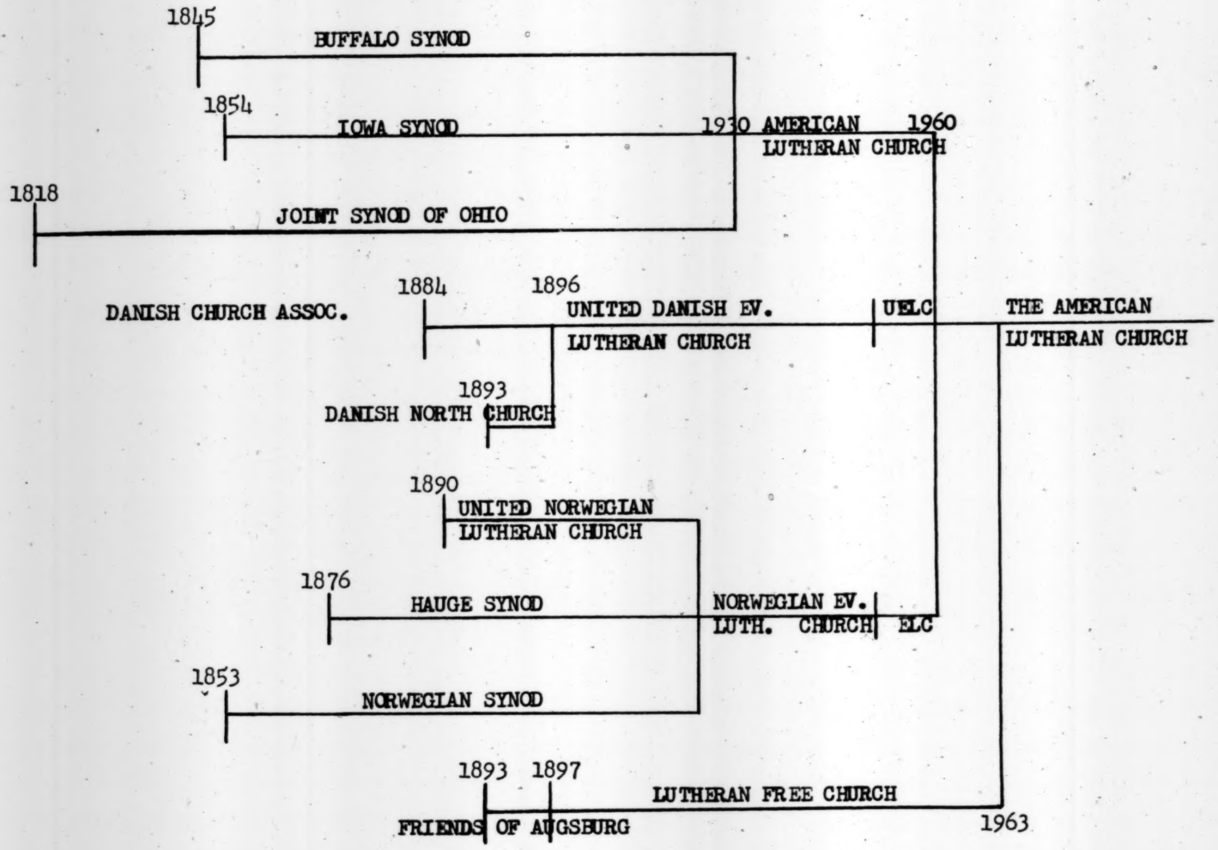

1851
NORTH
ILLINOIS S.
1860
SCAND.
AUGUSTANA SYNOD
1870
NORW.-DANISH
EV. LUTH. CONFER.
1890
UNITED NORWEGIAN
LUTHERAN CHURCH
1846
EVANGELICAL LUTHERAN CHURCH OF AMERICA
1876
HAUGE SYNOD
1917
THE NORWEGIAN
EVANGELICAL
LUTHERAN CHURCH
1853
NORWEGIAN SYNOD

THE AMERICAN LUTHERAN CHURCH MERGER OF 1930


1845
BUFFALO SYNOD
1930
1854
IOWA SYNOD
THE AMERICAN
LUTHERAN CHURCH
1818
JOINT SYNOD OF OHIO

XUM

THE AMERICAN LUTHERAN CHURCH MERGER OF 1960


1845
BUFFALO SYNOD
1854
IOWA SYNOD
1930 AMERICAN LUTHERAN CHURCH
1960
1818
JOINT SYNOD OF OHIO
DANISH CHURCH ASSOC.
1884
1896
UNITED DANISH EV. LUTHERAN CHURCH
UELC
THE AMERICAN LUTHERAN CHURCH
1893
DANISH NORTH CHURCH
1890
UNITED NORWEGIAN LUTHERAN CHURCH
1876
HAUGE SYNOD
NORWEGIAN EV. LUTH. CHURCH
ELC
1853
NORWEGIAN SYNOD
1893
1897
LUTHERAN FREE CHURCH
FRIENDS OF AUGSBURG
1963

XUM